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Compliments of  
**John Temple Swing**  
*Acting President*



**COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.**  
The Harold Pratt House  
58 East 68 Street New York, New York 10021

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, INC.

Annual Report 1984-1985



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# Annual Report

July 1, 1984—June 30, 1985

The Harold Pratt House | 58 East 68 Street | New York, New York 10021

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## Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

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### Officers

Peter G. Peterson  
*Vice Chairman of the Board  
and Treasurer*

John Temple Swing  
*Acting President  
Vice President and Secretary*

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### Directors

*Term expiring 1986*

Harold Brown  
Stanley Hoffmann  
Nicholas deB. Katzenbach  
Lane Kirkland  
Juanita Kreps  
Robert A. Scalapino  
Brent Scowcroft  
Stephen Stamas

*Term expiring 1987*

Philip L. Geyelin  
C. Peter McColough  
Donald F. McHenry  
Peter G. Peterson  
William D. Rogers  
Cyrus R. Vance  
Marina v.N. Whitman  
Walter B. Wriston

*Term expiring 1988*

Graham T. Allison, Jr.  
Warren Christopher  
Richard L. Gelb  
Alan Greenspan  
B. R. Inman  
Jeane J. Kirkpatrick  
Lewis T. Preston  
Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.

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### Honorary Officers and Directors Emeriti

Arthur H. Dean  
Douglas Dillon  
George S. Franklin  
Caryl P. Haskins

Joseph E. Johnson  
Grayson Kirk  
Henry R. Labouisse  
John J. McCloy  
*Honorary Chairman*

James A. Perkins  
Philip D. Reed  
Charles M. Spofford

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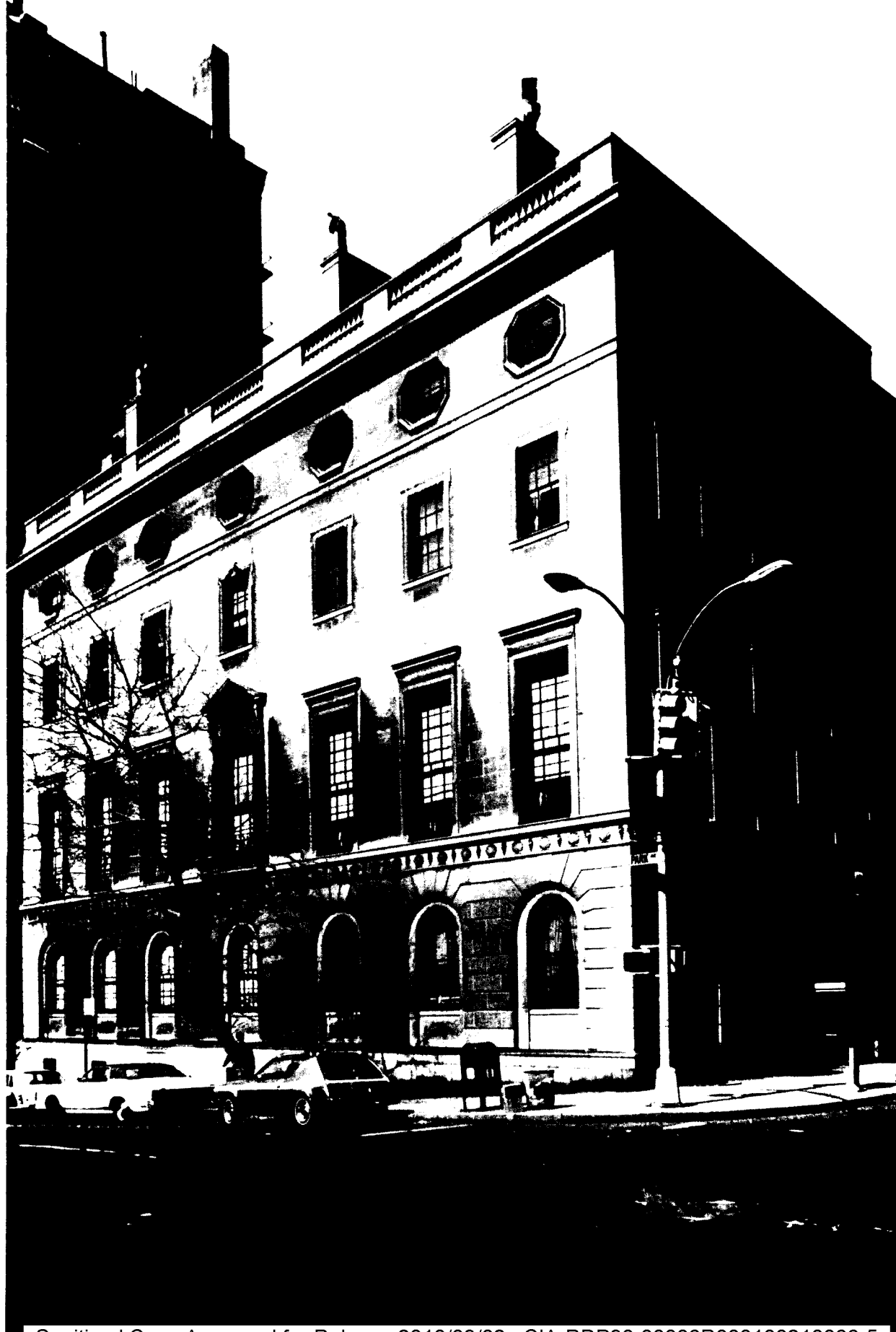
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## Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.—Summary Description

**T**he purposes of the Council on Foreign Relations are several and overlapping: to break new ground in the consideration of international issues; to help shape American foreign policy in a constructive, non-partisan manner; to provide continuing leadership for the conduct of our foreign relations; and to inform and stimulate the Council's membership, as well as to reach a wider audience, through publications and other means.

Its origins go back to the end of World War I. Some of the American participants in the Peace Conference were disappointed with the atmosphere of traditional power politics pervading the negotiation of the Versailles Treaty and recognized that the United States had not been well enough prepared to deal with the issues that came up. As the United States would be called to play a greater part in world affairs in the future, they saw the need for an organization that would provide for the continuous study of the international problems facing the United States, make more people acquainted with the issues that would arise, and work for a better understanding among Americans about their interests in these matters. The twenty-one Americans, who, together with British counterparts, founded in Paris in 1919 The Institute of International Affairs, were a diverse group that included Col. Edward M. House, Herbert Hoover, Gen. Tasker Bliss, Christian Herter, and such scholars as Charles Seymour, later president of Yale, Professors Archibald Cary Coolidge of Harvard and James T. Shotwell of Columbia. In 1921 their American branch of The Institute merged with a larger, existing group of New York City business and professional men to form the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., under the honorary presidency of Elihu Root, as a privately funded, non-profit and non-partisan organization.

In pursuit of its general purposes, the Council conducts meetings that give its members an opportunity to talk with invited guests from the United States or abroad who have special experience and

expertise in international affairs. The Council also helps to arrange similar meetings for thirty-eight Committees on Foreign Relations located throughout the country; each selects its own membership and is autonomous from the Council in matters of governance, finances and program selection.

The Studies Program of the Council explores questions of foreign policy through individual research by the Council's professional staff, visiting Fellows and others, and through study groups and conferences involving Council members and outside experts from the United States and abroad.

Since 1922 the Council has published the journal *Foreign Affairs*, now appearing five times annually. In addition, from time to time, books and monographs are published with the designation "A Council on Foreign Relations Book" or "A Council Paper on International Affairs." These are written by members of the research staff, visiting Fellows, or persons commissioned from outside, or by such authors with the aid of a critical review contributed by a Council study group. Any book bearing the Council's designation is, in the judgment of the Committee on Studies of the Board of Directors, a responsible and worthy treatment of a significant international topic. All statements of fact and expressions of opinion in Council publications are, however, the sole responsibility of their authors.

The Council is an educational institution, a research institute and a unique forum bringing together leaders from the academic, public, and private worlds. Here they can learn from each other, expand their perspectives, and develop their ideas about the shifting, complex fields of foreign relations. The Council selects topics to consider solely on the basis of their significance, notwithstanding (or even because of) their controversial character. To encourage a forthright exchange of ideas and full freedom of expression in Council meetings, it is the Council's tradition that participants will not later attribute the statements of speakers and other partici-

pants to them in public media or forums or knowingly transmit them to persons who will. Some meetings are open to selected guests or are announced as on-the-record.

Men and women are elected to membership in the Council by the Board of Directors upon nomination of the Membership Committee; they are elected without term, except that in each year up to fifty persons under the age of 35 may be elected to five-year term membership. Election to membership is based on an estimate of the candidates' special intellectual interest, experience, expertise, and involvement in international affairs, their active interest in the Council and how much they can contribute to its work, and their standing in their own professional communities; the By-Laws of the organization have confined membership to United States citizens or permanent residents who have made application to become citizens. As of June 1985, the Council has 2,376 members, of whom 38% live in the New York City area, 6% in the Boston and 24% in the Washington areas, and 32% in other parts of the United States and overseas. The professional distribution of the Council's present membership is: scholars or academic administrators, 21%; business executives, 27%; government officials, 11%; lawyers, 10%; journalists, correspondents and communication executives, 11%; administrators of non-profit institutions, 15%; others, 5%. Following the opening of membership to women in 1970, 250 have been elected to membership.

The Council's guest speakers and au-

thors of its publications represent many different viewpoints. The members, too, hold widely divergent opinions. It is thus impossible for the Council or its Board of Directors to take any position on questions of foreign policy, and neither the Board nor anybody else is authorized to speak for the Council on such matters.

The Council has no affiliation with the United States government. The Council's budget is funded through members' dues, voluntary gifts, income from publications, endowment income, foundation grants, and subscriptions by corporate subscribers to the Corporate Program. The Council does no contract research, and receives no core budgetary support, from the U.S. or any other government.

The Council's Board of Directors is composed of its President, ex officio, and twenty-four directors who are elected by the Council's membership from a larger slate and who may serve for not more than three consecutive three-year terms.

The Council's staff, library and administrative offices are located at its headquarters, the Harold Pratt House, 58 East 68th Street, New York City, N. Y., 10021, where most meetings are held. Some meetings are held in Washington and occasionally in other cities. The Council's basic constituency is its members; but it also reaches out to a wider audience through its publications, Committees on Foreign Relations, Corporate Program, and media efforts so as to contribute to the national dialogue on foreign policy. Each year's Annual Report of the Council sets forth in full its activities and roster of members. Copies are available on request.

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**Staff\*****President's Office**

Winston Lord, *President, 1977-1985*  
 John Temple Swing, *Acting President, 1985-*  
 Judith Gustafson, *Assistant to the President*  
 Lili Thomas

**Vice President's Office**

John Temple Swing, *Vice President and Secretary*  
 Kempton Dunn, *Director of Special Projects*  
 Alice Meyers, *Assistant to the Vice President*  
 Judith Steinsapir

**"Foreign Affairs"**

William Hyland, *Editor*  
 Peter Grose, *Managing Editor*  
 Lucy Edwards Despard, *Book Review Editor*  
 Elise O'Shaughnessy, *Assistant Editor*  
 Linda Robinson, *Assistant Editor*  
 Sheila Brill, *Assistant to the Editor*  
 Mae Benett, *Assistant to the Managing Editor*  
 Doris Elizabeth Forest, *Publisher*  
 Eldridge A. Greening, *Advertising Director*  
 Margaret Kable, *Circulation Manager*  
 George A. Fisher, *Manager, Book Advertising/Promotion Assistant*  
 Susannah L. Smith, *Assistant to the Publisher*  
 Abbie Littlejohn, *Subscriptions/Reprints Assistant*  
 Kathleen T. Calway, *Advertising Assistant*

**Studies Program**

Paul H. Kreisberg, *Director of Studies*  
 Janice Murray, *Assistant Director of Studies*  
 Abbe Lubell

**Senior Fellows**

Michael Aho  
 Alton Frye

Paul Jabber, 1985-  
 Andrew J. Pierre  
 Susan Kaufman Purcell  
 Alan D. Romberg  
 Dorothy Sobol, 1985-  
 Helena Stalson  
 Jennifer Seymour Whitaker

Kay King, *Assistant Director, European-American Project*

**Staff:**

Anne Mai Bertelsen  
 Suzanne Hooper  
 Lisa Molho  
 Patricia Ravalgi

**Visiting Fellows**

The Honorable John J. McCloy  
 Andrea Giles, *Assistant to Mr. McCloy*  
 Benjamin J. Cohen, *Whitney H. Shepardson Fellow, 1984-85*  
 Robert Immerman, 1984-85  
 Warren Zimmermann, *Council-Carnegie Endowment Fellow, 1984-85*  
 William B. Blakemore, *Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow, 1984-85*  
 Dennis Mullin, *Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow, 1985-86*  
 Colonel David Cooper, *USA Military Fellow, 1984-85*  
 Captain Barry M. Plott, *USN Military Fellow, 1985-86*  
 Colonel K. Scott Fisher, *USAF Military Fellow, 1984-85*  
 Colonel Bruce M. Freeman, *USAF Military Fellow, 1985-86*  
 Merle Dalziel, *Staff Assistant*

**Publications**

David Kellogg, *Publications Director*  
 Robert W. Valkenier, *Editor*  
 Margaret E. Hardon, *Publications Assistant*  
 Karen Coe

\* Staff shown as of June 30, 1985, unless otherwise specified.

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## Staff\*

### **Thomas J. Watson Meetings Program**

Margaret Osmer-McQuade, *Director of Programs*

Frances P. Himelfarb, *Associate Director of Meetings*

Kari Kindem, *Program Assistant*

Constance Taube, *Administrative Assistant*

Peggy Papadakis, *Assistant for Program Services*

Emilio Mesa, *Steward, 1961-1985*

Otoniel Suarez, Jr., *Steward, 1985-*

### **Washington Program**

Alton Frye, *Washington Director*

Linda Harsh, *Assistant Director*

### **Membership Affairs**

John Temple Swing, *Director of Membership Affairs*

Lorna Brennan, *Associate Director of Membership Affairs*

*Staff:*

Elizabeth Haugen

LaVerne Owens

### **Administration**

Doris Elizabeth Forest, *Director of Administration*

Debbie Loeb Jacobs, *Personnel Manager*

Susannah Smith, *Assistant to the Director of Administration*

John R. Steward, *Computer Projects Manager*

*Word Processing Center:*

Susanne Roach, *Supervisor*

Merle Dalziel

Joyce Donahue

Alice McLoughlin

### **Committees on Foreign Relations Program**

Rolland Bushner, *Director, Committees on Foreign Relations*

*Staff:*

Susu Erca

Alice McLoughlin

### **International Affairs Fellowship Program**

Alton Frye, *Director*

Kempton Dunn, *Associate Director*

Judith Tulin

### **International Affairs Fellows in Residence**

Andrew J. Bacevich, 1984-85

Karen L. Dawisha, 1984-85

Barbara Insel, 1984-85

James Piscatori, 1984-85

Michael E. Ranneberger, 1985-86

Scott D. Sagan, 1984-85



Winston Lord and staff at box lunch



## Staff\*

### Corporate Program

John A. Millington, *Director of Corporate Program*  
Jackie Jackson, *Corporate Program Administrator*  
Lilla Smerkanich

### Development

Fred Tamalonis, *Director of Development*  
John Healey, *Capital Campaign Director*  
Betty Lustig, *Assistant to the Director of Development*  
Lynda Frost  
Michelle Jannetti

### Public Affairs

Margaret Osmer-McQuade, *Director of Programs*  
Kempton Dunn  
Frances P. Himelfarb

### Library

Janet Rigney, *Librarian*

### Librarians:

Virginia Etheridge  
Janis Kreslins  
Barbara Miller, *Assistant Archivist*

### Archivist:

Janice Murray

### Staff:

Peggy Bowen  
Janet McCollough  
Matthew Westphal

### Comptroller's Office

R. Carolyn Witherspoon, *Assistant Treasurer and Comptroller*  
Ana Figueras, *Assistant to the Comptroller*  
Rhoda Hanig, *Payroll Bookkeeper*  
Linda Copeland

### Reception:

Solveig Gallaudet  
Claudette Smith

### House:

Vivian Kardaras, *Supervisor*  
Arnaldo Gallardo, *Building Superintendent*  
Frank Cid  
Mario Pedrza

### Mailroom and Reproduction Services:

Vivian Kardaras, *Supervisor*  
Joe Acevedo  
Shelby Conway  
Colman Elliott  
Phil B. Falcon  
Ernestina Gallardo



*Official recognition of Winston Lord's faithful and fruitless participation in the annual football pool*



*David Rockefeller*

**T**hroughout his 44 years of close and active association with the Council, David Rockefeller has come to be widely recognized for his participation as both a member and leader of the Council's activities. This exemplifies the *raison d'être* of the Council itself. The improvement of our interest in and knowledge of our country's foreign affairs is a time-measure of the Council's continuing merit.

David Rockefeller's relinquishment of his leadership on the Board makes this an appropriate time for the Council to make full recognition and identification of the part David has played in the Council's achievement of its main objectives, which the size, strength and influence of the nation in the world impel. His unfailing breadth of view, as well as the extent and quality of his contacts, will make it difficult for the Council to select a leader of comparable distinction. High among his contributions to the progress of the Council have been these human qualities, as well as his unfailing courtesy and sensitivity to the welfare of those associated with the work of the Council both at home and abroad.

An expressive portrait of David Rockefeller should certainly adorn the mantle above the fireplace of its central hall, the home site of the Council.



John J. McCloy  
June 27, 1985

**T**his year's Annual Report is the eighth and last which will have been prepared under the direction of Winston Lord as President of the Council on Foreign Relations. During his tenure, Win has strengthened the Council in a variety of ways, which are too numerous to list here, but which have become evident to all of us who have come in contact with him.

For me personally, knowing and working with Win and his wonderful wife, Bette, have been a joy and inspiration. In addition to being a highly professional foreign service officer and student of politics and history, he is an excellent manager. With all of this, he has a warmth of personality and sensitivity to people which is rare and which has contributed to his ability to achieve what he has for the Council.

The membership and staff of the Council will certainly miss Win very much, and it will be difficult for anyone to fill his shoes. On the other hand, one of the roles the Council has traditionally filled is to nurture and build men and women with exceptional qualifications and dedication for public service. Win's experience at the Council on Foreign Relations will undoubtedly contribute to his success as the President's emissary to the People's Republic of China. At this moment in time, there are few diplomatic posts which offer a greater opportunity to serve the cause of world peace and understanding. I am sure that I speak for everyone connected with the Council in wishing Winston and Bette well as they embark on their challenging new career.



David Rockefeller  
August 19, 1985



Winston Lord

## The President's Report, 1984-85

**O**n June 30, 1985, I left the Presidency of the Council to take on new responsibilities. A dedicated staff and Board of Directors have given indispensable assistance during these past eight years. And I take this final opportunity to thank the countless members and friends of the Council who have provided substantive, financial, and moral support.

At a special Board dinner in June I offered some personal reflections on the Council and its challenges. Following is a text of my remarks.

These past few weeks I have naturally been musing with particular intensity on the purpose of the Council and the place of America. On a somewhat less cosmic scale I have looked inward as well. Permit me to make some connections.

This organization is in its seventh decade. It has both molded and mirrored the national mood. Sometimes—however modestly and messily—it has carved out new paths. Sometimes it has reflected the current scene. Always it has served as a sounding board—without, I hope, sounding bored.

To capture the context for each of the Council's seven decades, I offer a single word:

The 1920s—*isolation*.  
 30s—*depression*.  
 40s—*victory*.  
 50s—*predominance*.  
 60s—*anguish*.  
 70s—*ambivalence*.

The 1980s—*renewal*.

In looking back on these states of the nation I also surveyed my own upon leaving. How does my mood tonight match up with the national moods of the Council's history?

The answer is: almost not at all.

### Isolation?

Isolation? Impossible. How can I feel alone when I have been surrounded and supported by legions? The task of

thanking everyone is hopeless. Like the Academy Awards, I am grateful for the indispensable contributions of the producers and directors; the starring and supporting cast; the screenwriters and editors; music and makeup; costumes and casting; props and prompters—even the audience and the critics.

Many of the most deserving are here in this very room, on the wall and off the wall.

Jack McCloy was one of my heroes long before I joined the Council. His service to the country and this body has been a steady inspiration.

Whenever I consider what has been right, and what will be right, for the Council, I think of George Franklin.

As for those with whom I have worked most closely, I trust all will understand my singling out but three. I slight not at all what the rest have meant to me.

David Rockefeller, and Peggy, welcomed Bette and me on a quiet summer weekend at Pocantico. For the next eight years they have made us feel at home with the rarest of combinations—splendor and simplicity. David presides with amazing grace. I have never met a person who accomplished so much, for so long, in so many arenas by not only being good at what he did but also in being good.

It is fruitless to look for someone more tenacious for the welfare of the Council than John Swing. He has indicated his friendship and loyalty by telling me when I'm right—which is consoling. He has proved them by telling me when I'm wrong—which is critical.

As for Judith Gustafson, she above all has kept me alert, aligned, and afloat. I will miss her myriad skills. I will miss her.

For all others, present and absent, to whom I am deeply grateful: time alone compels me to invoke the non-attribution rule.

### Depression?

Depression? Hardly. How can I feel

## The President's Report, 1984-85

glum when much has been accomplished? The following is not at all self-serving, for its authorship is truly collective:

- A membership which reflects the changing profile of American leadership.
- The crush of outstanding candidates, especially the young.
- Members' participation which has more than doubled.
- Fresh formats, audiences, and settings for a Meetings Program unrivalled in scope.
- The launching and lifting of a Washington satellite.
- A Studies Program now accelerating in staff, content, and diversity.
- Greater integration of Visiting and International Affairs Fellows in the life of the Council.
- The trend toward more speed and less cost, thinner bulk and wider spread in our publications.
- Going from strength to strength in *Foreign Affairs*, plus a new year-end review.
- The net of Committees on Foreign Relations now cast to Hawaii, with growing numbers, meetings, and outreach.
- A Corporate Program whose enhanced agenda has almost doubled its annual income to over \$1 million from 200 companies.
- The new efforts to span the nation, with growing clusters of members, more than fifty regional events, and increased communications.
- A comprehensive blueprint, and a full time Director of Development, for fund raising.
- A systematic annual giving drive which has more than tripled revenue and now enlists half the members.
- The Campaign for the Council which has already raised \$12.5 million.\*
- An endowment which has tripled from \$10 million to more than \$31 million, including pledges—and will rise another \$4 million if the Campaign fully succeeds.\*

- The gaining and garnishing of two brownstones next door, providing new space; rental income; and room for future growth.
- A full-fledged computer network to manage all this.
- Perhaps some intangibles the computer cannot digest.

### Victory?

Victory? Not at all. How can I feel smug when there is so much left undone? There have been disappointments and modest starts; trials and errors; unfinished business and untapped potential. Some of this is due to insufficient funding, some to insufficient attention. Let me cite a few examples:

- Certain categories of membership remain spare.
- Too many members still participate infrequently, or not at all.
- We face a never-ending challenge to stamp out blandness in all of our programs.
- There is a need for more bite and debate in many of our meetings, as well as greater coverage of secondary areas.
- A long search for a Director of Studies and tight budgets delayed the recharging of the Studies Program.
- Much work, therefore, remains to expand its staff, sharpen its deliberations, and spread its works.
- The time is ripe to take stock of the content and financing of *Foreign Affairs*.
- Our splendid library is under-utilized.
- Our national reach, in both membership and programs, is still skeletal.
- Pilot efforts to launch Council television were temporarily shelved because of funding priorities.
- We may be pressing the general limits of annual and corporate giving.
- We must raise almost \$4 million to complete our Campaign for the Council.
- We have a new telephone system that hovers between disquiet and disaster.

\* As of June 30, 1985, the total was almost \$13.6 million; the value of the endowment, including pledges, was \$33 million.



**Predominance?**

Predominance? No. How can I feel superior about the Council when there are now so many worthy competitors?

The days are long gone when this institution clearly dominated the field. While this may induce nostalgia, it is both inevitable and healthy. No longer can one convene the nation's power structure by gathering a few score white, black-tie, Ivy League males in New York City.

Thus, we must refine our comparative advantages even as we adjust to the contemporary scene. Indeed we face one of the most complex challenges of definition in the history of the Council. But do not be discouraged. Our task is akin to what one observer said about the music of Richard Wagner: "It is not as bad as it sounds."

Our mission, as always, is to blend the traditional and the new. As we chart our course we must honor the Old Testament:

"Remove not the ancient landmark, which the fathers have set."

And we must also heed Tennyson:

"... Forward, forward let us range,  
Let the great world spin for ever  
down the ringing grooves  
of change."

This was our dual credo seven years ago when many here tonight explored all dimensions of the Council throughout a snowy Saturday. It guided us three years ago when we projected future priorities and financial needs. This review led to the current Campaign for the Council.

And this spirit infuses the comprehensive study of the Council's national role now led by David Rockefeller and Pete Peterson. The Committee will draw on all directors, the staff, and a broad sampling of diverse members. It will not lose sight of ancient strengths, such as quality and intimacy. It will not blur the Council's mandate or fall between the stools of private expertise and public education. But the Committee will consider changes that could improve our programs even as they broaden their impact. And it will weigh new departures.



Winston Lord, David Rockefeller, Theodore M. Hesburgh

## The President's Report, 1984-85



*John J. McCloy and David Rockefeller on the occasion of Mr. McCloy's 90th birthday*

How, in short, can we extend the Council's reach without greatly expanding its size? How can we nurture the first tier of excellence centered on the members while bolstering the second tier which informs the national debate?

### **Anguish?**

Anguish? Scarcely. How can I feel distressed when I contemplate the Council's strengths?

Certainly the competition is stronger than ever, our predominance will never be regained, we must review our place and purpose. We salute the role of others in a democracy. But while many have some, and some have many, none have all of the following: Strictly non-partisan. Wholly independent. Emphatically non-profit. A national membership of leaders in all major fields. Extended regional and corporate networks. Singular convening power. A vigorous study and publications program. The premier foreign policy journal. A large, specialized library. A national fellowship program for future

leaders. A broad base of financial support.

Above all, the Council is host to many views, advocate of none. It is a university whose members are at once faculty and students. It joins the worlds of action, reflection, and policy for debate marked by reason rather than rancor.

### **Ambivalence?**

Ambivalence? Not at all. How can I feel tentative about the Council when its unique contribution is as crucial as ever?

It would be presumptuous to claim that our present work is more urgent than when Americans debated whether to enter a war, or how to end it, or what to do in its wake.

But our assets can serve a nation which still gropes to define its role in the world. America, like the Council, must marry the traditional with the new, reflecting both experience and a transformed landscape.

Gone is our historical isolationism

when two oceans, the British Navy, and benign neighbors shielded us from a turbulent world. This impulse persisted during the first two decades of the Council.

Gone are the unambiguous crusades of victory in the '40s, whose anniversaries we celebrate this spring.

Gone, too, is the fleeting predominance of the '50s.

Still with us, though now more scars than wounds, is the anguish from the '60s. We lost one President through murder, another through Vietnam, and another through crisis. We agonized through our longest war, whose anniversaries we mark this spring. We endured shouting and shooting, conflict between races and ages, a cultural revolution.

And in the process we saw the collapse of the postwar consensus on international affairs. We thus entered the decade of ambivalence. Since then, to be sure, there have been major milestones in our foreign policy. Some in this room helped to fashion them. But I believe an overall design has eluded us. We are still sorting out our Munich and our Vietnam syndromes. We have passed through phases of masochism, malaise, and machoism. We have yet to strike a steady balance between principle and power, firmness and negotiation, limits and horizons, the maintenance of stability and the pursuit of justice.

Above all, we have yet to regain the sense that all Americans, regardless of party or persuasion, are engaged in a common enterprise. We need the perspective, missing from recent Administrations, that our interests are permanent, that each team must pass the baton in a marathon relay race.

In this context the Council has a special role. As I said in one of my annual reports—which I quote with trepidation because I know you have committed them to memory:

“... we provide a non-partisan arena at a time when partisanship is rife. We invite rational debate when passions run freely. We take stock when others are taking aim. We address

trend lines as well as headlines and deadlines. And in our multicolored discourse we purposefully implant the notion that not all the forces of truth and virtue are gathered under one banner.”

### **Renewal**

Renewal? At last, therefore, I have found a word to match my mood. It is a mood stirring in the nation as well.

Bette and I—rewarded and refreshed—set off on a long march to scale great walls. Many valued colleagues on the staff have recently left, or will do so soon, after years of devoted service. The Board will shortly lose the extraordinary Father Ted and of course, David, whose central legacy will be duly honored this fall.

But, as always, the Council will find renewal in those who follow. This institution will be enriched as I have been by it—and with you. It will serve America as both strive to honor ancient landmarks and range forward down the ringing grooves of change.

The Council and the nation will pay tribute to both history and hope.

Thank you.

Winston Lord

## Foreign Affairs

**I**n this, my first, report I will not begin by listing all of the changes in *Foreign Affairs* simply because none were needed and none adopted. As William Bundy concluded in his final report last year, the magazine is in a healthy condition. Indeed, as the year progressed, the new editorial team came to appreciate their predecessors more and more.

Volume 63 continued the tradition of *Foreign Affairs*. First, and most important, we continued to cover the central strategic and national security issues: those related to the Soviet Union, nuclear arms and arms control. We also continued the tradition of publishing occasional articles by the world's leading statesmen. For the first time since 1957, we published an article by the U.S. Secretary of State. And we covered those regions of critical concern to American policy, especially in the troubled Middle East. Finally, we took advantage of 1984 and the re-election of the President to offer our readers a survey of the Reagan foreign policy during the President's first term.

### Highlights

The Fall 1984 issue set the tone for much that followed. Robert W. Tucker, who has written often for us in the past, returned with a brilliant analytical survey of the nuclear debate. The essence of the debate—over strategy, weapons and arms control—was the growing concern that pure deterrence was no longer a credible doctrine. This growing concern led to quite diverse reactions, ranging from proposals for a nuclear freeze to President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. In his survey Professor Tucker took what he called the "lapsed faith" in deterrence as his organizing theme. He noted that the new doubts over the effectiveness of the nuclear deterrent coexisted with new public concerns over the likelihood of a nuclear war—a concern sharpened by the Soviet walkout from the Geneva arms control negotiations. An interesting, and somewhat provocative, conclusion

emerged from the Tucker essay: that to restore deterrence—the central task for American policy—the most effective course might well be a return to a form of détente: "It may take surprisingly little in the way of an improved Soviet-American relationship in order to still present anxiety and unrest and to restore a lapsed faith in deterrence."

The Tucker essay set the stage, in effect, for the 1984–85 series on this crucial issue, with articles that concentrated on arms control (by Kenneth Adelman and by John Steinbruner), others that discussed nuclear strategy (by Fred Iklé and by Leon Wieseltier) and, of course, our blockbuster essay on Star Wars. This last item marked the return of the "Gang of Four" (an affectionate appellation that, it must be noted, first appeared upon publication of their 1982 article on the no-first-use of nuclear weapons): McGeorge Bundy, George F. Kennan, Robert S. McNamara and Gerard Smith joined to write an article entitled "The President's Choice: Star Wars or Arms Control" (Winter 1984/85). They vigorously advocated that the President choose arms control, centering their arguments on the implausibility of the President's goal of making nuclear weapons truly obsolete. In the same issue, a different dimension of the debate was ably presented by another author who has previously graced our pages, Kenneth L. Adelman, this time appearing in his capacity as Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Adelman argued that arms control need not be a question of formal negotiations and agreements, but could conceivably be worked out as a series of informal agreements, perhaps even reciprocal actions, which taken together would constitute a more genuine and durable arms control regime.

Another review of strategy was by the Under Secretary of Defense, Fred C. Iklé, also well known to our readers. He made the case against continuing to rely on the doctrine of mutual assured destruction, and for adopting more realistic

principles that would allow for some buildup of strategic defense. In a less conventional approach, Leon Wieseltier argued that the critical question was what to do, should the fateful day arise, when nuclear weapons were used: he offered some guidelines to policy analysts for terminating the impending catastrophe.

The climax of the series was an article by still another old friend of the journal, reappearing after a lengthy absence: Albert Wohlstetter, who undertook the difficult job of surveying the nuclear era (Summer 1985). He addressed two issues: how to assess the threat of nuclear catastrophe, and how to deal with the threat by developing a more credible strategy in order to avoid the dreaded dilemma of being either red or dead. The author advocated developing an option for discriminating counterforce targeting. In addition, Professor Wohlstetter presented his critique of the strategic assumption underlying the calculations of the consequences of nuclear winter, which had been dramatically outlined in the magazine last year by Dr. Carl Sagan. Our faithful readers will remember that Professor Wohlstetter was the author of one of our seminal reviews, "The Delicate Balance of Terror," in the January 1959 issue. We felt that his current article would occupy a similar niche in our hierarchy of significant (and provocative) contributions to American national security policy.

A spin-off and a mark of the attention we have paid over the years to the nuclear issue was the publication in April by the New American Library/Meridian of the paperback *The Nuclear Controversy: A Foreign Affairs Reader*, edited and with an introduction by William P. Bundy. The book brings together the most notable and widely discussed articles about nuclear weapons and the arms race that have appeared in *Foreign Affairs* in the 1980s.

Parallel to this unfolding of the nuclear issue, we tried to track Soviet politics and prospects in light of the unprecedented changes in the top leadership.

Richard Pipes led off with a sharp challenge to much of the traditional thinking in his essay on the prospects for reform in the Soviet Union. He argued that in the face of consistent external pressures the regime would turn inward, rather than reverting to Stalinism or resorting to war. In the Soviet category we also featured the new arms control "Tsar," Paul Nitze, who elaborated on his view of the difficulties of negotiating with the Soviets in light of the dual meaning of the Russian word "mir," which can mean either peace or the world. It was the ambiguity of the "struggle for mir" that concerned the erstwhile American negotiator. His essay preceded the last change in the Soviet leadership, the accession of Mikhail Gorbachev, an event covered in a short essay by this Editor.

At this point it is appropriate to turn to the annual review of American policy in 1984. This special issue, the seventh since the series was inaugurated, offered two essays of unusual scope and interest. In his lead article, "The Reagan Road to Détente," Norman Podhoretz, the editor of *Commentary*, orchestrated the arguments against a return to détente which he perceived during the first term. Arnold Horelick, now at the Rand Corporation, presented his usual top-notch treatment of Soviet policy. As the two superpowers resumed arms control negotiations in Geneva—contrary to some of the more doleful predictions in 1983, when the Soviets walked out of the talks—Horelick presented the outlines of what might conceivably become the bargain to break the stalemate, a stalemate which John Steinbruner, in a different article, feared would continue.

In short, in Volume 63 we had reason to be proud that the tradition established by our first editor of paying particular attention to Russia and the Soviet Union was continued and, in our view, upheld with considerable distinction by our authors, both old and new.

The year 1984 was of course a watershed of sorts. For the first time since Eisenhower, a President seemed likely to

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## Foreign Affairs

serve two full terms. This prompted the Editor of Time-Life, Inc., Henry Grunwald, to survey the President's foreign policy and to peer into the second term in "Foreign Policy Under Reagan II" (Winter 1984/85). The author called for a strong element of pragmatism, but one grounded in principles combined with a recognition that there are different ways of attaining American goals and a clear realization that, "especially in foreign affairs, passion without skill can be worse than skill without passion." Two of our other authors were somewhat more critical. Leslie Gelb, of *The New York Times*, and Anthony Lake, formerly chief of policy planning at the State Department, found that the President's political strength and international credibility placed him in a unique position to achieve diplomatic successes, but they questioned whether the Administration could overcome its internal divisions when confronted by the stubborn reality of world affairs. Coral Bell, writing from Australia, found similarities between the Carter and Reagan Administrations, noting that the differences were in many instances differences between declaratory and operational policy.

The Reagan Administration's first term was also evaluated by Jeffrey Garten in his year-end review, provocatively entitled "Gunboat Economics." Garten found that the policies emanating from Washington were not up to the massive international challenges of an overvalued dollar, high American interest rates, and a very adverse balance of trade. A somewhat more favorable outlook was set forth by the President's former chief economic adviser, Martin Feldstein (Summer 1985), who saw many of the problems flowing from the huge budget deficits which, if attacked successfully, would redound favorably on a range of international trade and monetary problems.

We turn now to regional issues. Our record could have been improved, at least as far as our coverage of Latin and Central America. We did, however, have a thoughtful essay by William D. Rogers

in the year-end review. He took the reader through the intricacies of the situation in both Nicaragua and El Salvador, and concluded that in El Salvador Washington's policy had begun to pay off in 1984. Efforts to dislodge the regime in Nicaragua, however, ranged from "ineffective through unfortunate to counter-productive."

Other areas fared well in our coverage: Paul Kreisberg, the Council's Director of Studies, wrote a very timely and insightful essay on India after Indira; our year-end review covered Asia (Takashi Oka), Africa (David Martin and Phyllis Johnson), realignments in the Middle East by Dankwart Rustow, and Western Europe by the inestimable Stanley Hoffmann. As far as the Middle East is concerned, special mention should be made of a pair of articles appearing in the Spring 1985 issue: a brilliant essay about the Shiites by Fouad Ajami, and a companion piece by the President of Lebanon, Amine Gemayel. The Iran-Iraq war was analyzed by Michael Sterner, who saw no early end to the conflict. Islamic fundamentalism was the subject of James A. Bill's prophetic essay.

The article by President Gemayel was one of several by statesmen of the world. Geoffrey Howe, the British Foreign Secretary, surveyed the NATO alliance and Europe, concluding that the alliance remained basically healthy. The President of Mexico presented his country's outlook in an unprecedented essay.

And the new Prime Minister of New Zealand, David Lange, explained his decision to exclude port visits by U.S. warships carrying nuclear weapons. As already noted, the American Secretary of State appeared in the magazine for the first time since John Foster Dulles wrote for us. In "Shaping American Foreign Policy," for the Spring 1985 issue, George Shultz noted the new self-confidence of the United States (also outlined in another, earlier, article by Daniel Yankelovich) and called for new ways of thinking about the traditional issues.

Finally, of course, the mid-1980s



were years of notable anniversaries, such as the 40th anniversary of World War II and the tenth anniversary of the fall of Saigon. The Vietnam issue was treated at length by our former managing editor James Chace and his co-author David Fromkin in "What Are the Lessons of Vietnam?" in Spring 1985. Their somewhat surprising insight was that drawing hard and fast lessons is not possible, and indeed would be misleading. John Wheeler presented the Vietnam veterans' view in a remarkable essay of personal impressions.

The anniversary of the end of World War II was the occasion for a particularly satisfying essay by James Schlesinger, his first appearance in our pages. He examined the "Eagle and the Bear" in "ruminations" on 40 years of superpower relations. He provoked the reader to question whether these two behemoths could ever be in a position to find a durable accommodation, and also wondered whether the United States would be able to carry out its unique responsibilities during the decades ahead. He found the

portents "somewhat worrisome." Of special interest was the provocative essay by Zbigniew Brzezinski on the occasion of the anniversary of the Yalta Conference. Dr. Brzezinski raised the possibility of repudiating Yalta as a step toward a new East-West policy in Europe.

Unfortunately there were changes in editorial personnel. Mark Uhlig left to join the *New York Times Magazine*. He started at *Foreign Affairs* as an intern and was associate editor when he left in May. We continue to miss him.

Linda Robinson, our editorial assistant, became an assistant editor, in which capacity she continues to display her many skills. Fortunately for the new editors, our publisher Doris Forest continues in her command post. Our subscriptions and sales, helped by a small price increase, allowed us once again to operate without a deficit. Indeed, our total circulation now hovers in the range of 90,000.

William G. Hyland  
*Editor*

## Foreign Affairs

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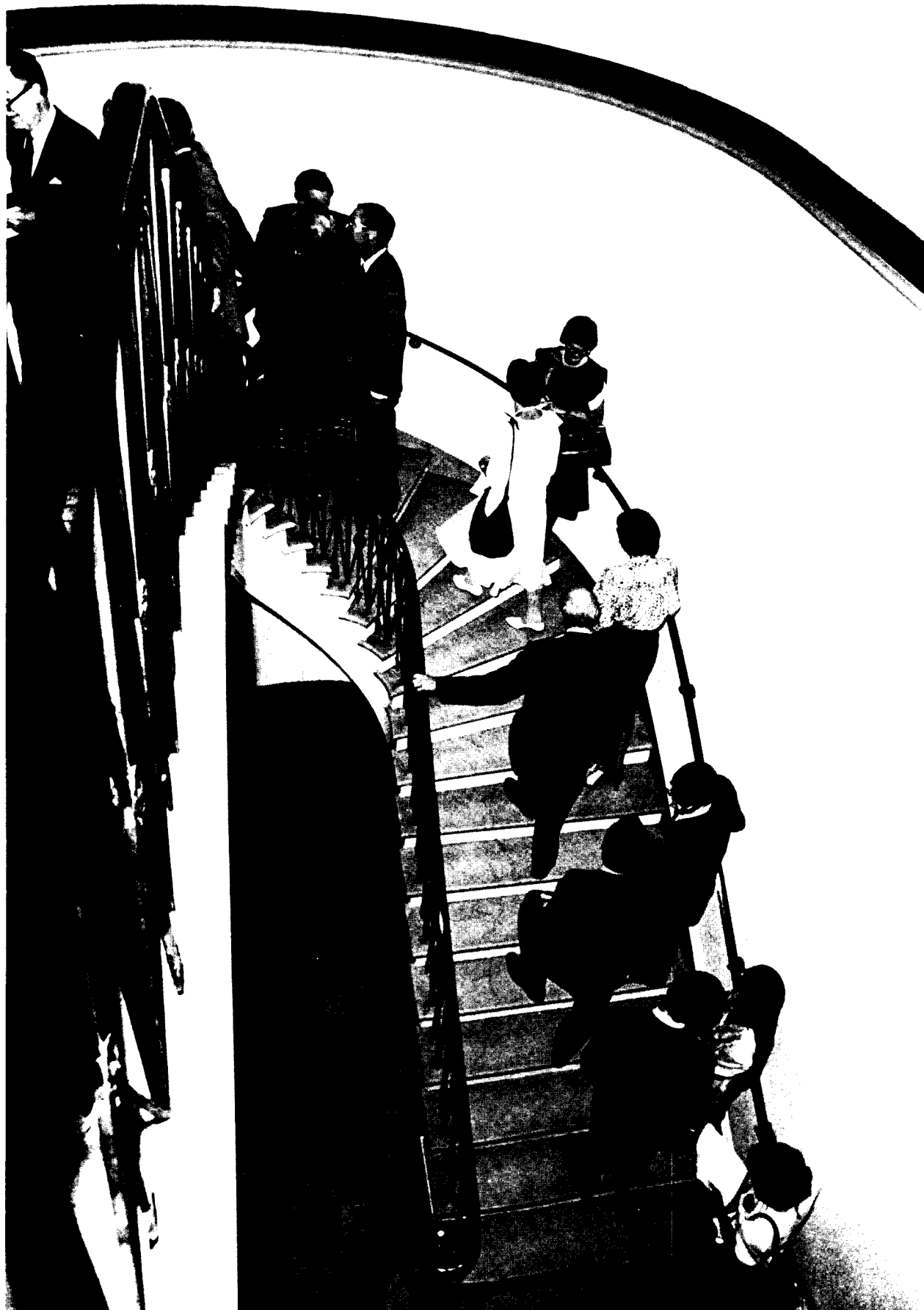
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## The Thomas J. Watson Meetings Program

**T**he Council on Foreign Relations prides itself on its extraordinary convening power. It has an unsurpassed ability to gather at its meetings the leading thinkers and policy-makers in various fields of international affairs for the purpose of thoughtful, provocative and productive discussion of the major issues.

To this end, the Meetings Program strives to bring together experts within the Council membership and distinguished leaders from around the world for a forthright exchange of views that ideally enlightens all parties. The Council membership is strictly non-partisan, and the Council programs seek out spokesmen for all points of view. An invitation to speak at the Council is in no way an endorsement of a person or a government's position, but rather a recognition that the individual represents a significant aspect of the debate on foreign affairs.

In its efforts to engage the debate during its 1984-85 season, the Council on Foreign Relations held these events:

### *Open to all members:*

- 52 General Meetings
- 4 General Luncheons

### *Open to members particularly knowledgeable about the subject:*

- 8 Roundtable Meetings
- 27 Dinners
- 48 Roundtable Luncheons
- 1 Breakfast
- 4 Conferences

Our guest speakers included, among others, 8 current or former heads of state, 11 foreign ministers, and 5 ministers of finance.

### *Heads of State*

Daniel Ortega Saavedra  
Shimon Peres  
Turgut Ozal  
Helmut Schmidt  
Willy Brandt  
Milka Planinc  
Malcolm Fraser  
Edmonde Valéry Giscard d'Estaing

### *Foreign Ministers*

Won-Kyung Lee  
Siddhi Savetsila  
Fernando Andrade Diaz-Duran  
Jean Robert Estime  
Vahit Halefoglu  
Prince Saud Al-Faisal  
Tariq Aziz  
Farouq Al-Shara  
Claude Cheysson  
Sir Geoffrey Howe  
Oskar Fischer

### *Finance Ministers*

Ernane Galveas  
Jesus Silva-Herzog  
Noboru Takeshita  
Daim Bin Zainuddin  
Pierre Beregovoy

### **Non-Attribution**

Candor is encouraged at all meetings and thus all Council proceedings are not for attribution. This tradition, it is believed, has encouraged both the speaker and the questioners to be more forthright, adding to both the substance and the temper of the debate.

Occasionally the non-attribution rule is waived for the opening remarks at the specific request of the speaker. This waiver does enable us to accommodate those who wish to say something for the record and wider distribution subsequently to the media. It does not jeopardize the free flow of ideas in the discussion period, which are always not for attribution. The meeting in honor of Secretary of State George P. Shultz is an example of such an event this year.

### **Programs**

The subject of our meetings is a reflection of the issues of current and potential international concern. We may plan a conference a year ahead, or a meeting within days if an important speaker is suddenly available or a crisis occurs. As a rule, however, we begin our planning for the following season each spring, assessing the areas and individuals

## The Meetings Program

we hope to include in a substantive, provocative and well-balanced program. It is not our intention to seek solutions to world problems, but rather to raise and expand the discussion and to present and debate all possible options.

The full list of meetings of the 1984-85 season, which follows, clearly displays the variety of speakers, topics, and formats.

The season began with two very successful events. One, the last of a series of meetings on the Soviet Union that had begun the year before, dealt with the timely subject of "Soviet Leaders and Change." The other was a joint conference held at Council headquarters in cooperation with the Dayan Center of Tel Aviv University on "Prospects for Peace in the Middle East: The View from Israel," with former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance presiding. Five speakers from Israel and five from the United States presented papers for discussion by a select group of Middle East experts. These opening presentations were subsequently made available in printed form to Council members and other interested persons.

The Council also held a conference in March on "Central America as a European-American Issue," chaired by former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, in conjunction with the Studies Program's European-American Project.

And an April conference on "The Impact of Vietnam on American Foreign Policy," chaired by Council President Winston Lord, discussed the institutional, individual, and policy changes that have occurred as a result of that period of American history.

Through the generosity of a grant from the German Marshall Fund, the Council was able to hold additional meetings with speakers from Western Europe beyond those possible in our regular program. Seven luncheons were held over the year, beginning with Ottfried Hennig, Parliamentary State Secretary at the Federal Ministry of Intra-German Relations of the Federal Republic of Germany,

who discussed Germany's situation between East and West, and concluding with Michel Rocard, former Agricultural Minister of France, who spoke on whether a trade war between Europe and the United States can be avoided.

The Council continued its program of journalists luncheons open to all members, which were begun in response to the awareness of the particular pressures on our members in the news media to speak at or attend meetings in the evenings when deadlines tend to conflict. We had two such events dealing with the Middle East this year, Elaine Sciolino, correspondent of *The New York Times* and a former Edward R. Murrow Fellow at the Council, spoke on the current U.S.-Iraqi relationship; and Thomas Friedman, the Jerusalem Bureau Chief of *The New York Times*, gave a personal perspective on the lessons of Lebanon. Friedman's opening remarks were subsequently printed and distributed to all members.

### National Reach

The Council continues its dedication to reflecting the diversity of regional viewpoints and the dispersement of centers of power throughout the country and to reaching out and involving our members beyond the East Coast. Through the generosity of a five-year grant from The McKnight Foundation specifically designated for Council outreach activities, we are able to have a more extensive program outside of New York and Washington over the years 1984-88.

The Council's program in California continued for its third year with two general meetings followed by dinners, and three roundtable luncheons in Los Angeles. For some events, we invited members of the local affiliated Committees on Foreign Relations (Santa Barbara and Los Angeles) to join us. In addition, we held a conference in San Francisco on "The Pacific Basin: Economic Prospects and Strategic Concerns," chaired by Edward Hamilton, with a dinner address by Michael Armacost, Undersecretary of State





*Edward L. Rowny and Lew Allen, Jr., Los Angeles*



*Sol M. Linowitz and Warren Christopher, Los Angeles*



*Conference on Asia, San Francisco*

## The Meetings Program



*Robert J. White, Malcolm Fraser and Donald Fraser, Minneapolis*



*Paul A. Volcker, Amourers' Hall, London*

for Political Affairs. In Minneapolis in December, the Council invited members in the region and area Committees to a luncheon in honor of Malcolm Fraser, former Prime Minister of Australia, who spoke about the debt problems of the Third World and their implications for the Western Alliance. Certain Committees on Foreign Relations took the initiative, with Council cooperation, to sponsor regional conferences in Phoenix and Nashville, to which all Council members in the region were invited.

We have explored the possibility of reaching east as well as west to serve our members and to extend the debate. Over 50 Council members reside in Europe, with over half of them in England and France. We have investigated the level of their interest and our ability to gather for discussion overseas. In Paris in July, Charles McC. Mathias, Senator from Maryland, spoke to members and invited guests on economic strains in the Alliance. A City of London guild hall provided a unique setting for the Council's luncheon and conversation with the Chairman of the Federal Reserve, Paul Volcker, in December. The enthusiastic

response of members who traveled some distance to attend these events has encouraged pursuit of such programs in the future.

### Special Events

With several specific exceptions, all Council meetings are for members only.

Once a month, a general meeting is designated on the calendar as open to guests. On three such occasions a year, a member may bring an individual who meets the requirements for, and thus could be a potential candidate for membership—by definition, an American, knowledgeable about foreign affairs and a recognized leader in his or her field.

Once a year the members are invited to bring their sons and daughters to a Council meeting. This meeting traditionally occurs the week before Christmas and is always well attended. This year, Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Adviser to President Jimmy Carter, spoke on "The U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda." Winston Lord, President of the Council presided and encouraged questions from the young people which were, as usual, well informed and tough.



*Steven Isenberg, Michael O'Neill, and children at the Brzezinski meeting*

## The Meetings Program

Twice a year, we hold a meeting followed by a reception for members and their spouses. In the fall, the author Claire Sterling spoke on the timely topic "The Strategies of the Expanding Terrorist Conflict: How Best to Fight Back." In the spring, former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Willy Brandt, spoke on East-West Relations. Coming just after President Ronald Reagan's trip to Bitburg, the Brandt meeting provided a particularly timely forum for discussion.

Recognizing the difficulty of our Wall Street members in traveling uptown for events, the Council occasionally holds a luncheon meeting downtown. We also have experimented with formats, such as a town meeting in the round, or debates, and shall continue to do so.

Each year the Council offers a resident fellowship for an American foreign correspondent currently serving abroad. Named in honor of Edward R. Murrow, the fellowship gives the journalist a period of nine months for sustained analysis and writing, free from the usual pressure

of deadlines. While at the Council, Fellows both contribute to and benefit from our many programs.

The Murrow Press Fellow for 1984-1985 was William Blakemore of ABC News who had been working abroad as a foreign correspondent for 18 years. In his last post as Rome Bureau Chief he became knowledgeable about the Vatican and the current Pope and spoke to the Council staff and many of the Council's affiliated Committees on this subject. Here at the Pratt House, he was the staff director of a study group on Television News and Foreign Policy that gathered people from government, media and academia for four half-day sessions. Mr. Blakemore is working on a short publication on issues discussed in this series.

Our Edward R. Murrow Fellow for 1985-86 is Dennis Mullin of *US News and World Report*.

### Conclusion

It is not the role of the Council on Foreign Relations to determine American foreign policy. The Council seeks through its Meetings Program to enlighten and enliven the national debate. We seek to provide to policy-makers and observers alike the benefit of highly substantive, deliberately non-partisan, candid dialogue among the experts in foreign affairs from America and around the world.

The Meetings Program will continue its efforts to engage all of the members to the fullest extent possible in productive participation in our programs. We are striving to provide more opportunities to those beyond the East Coast areas as well as to enrich and enliven the formats and offerings in the headquarters program.

We continue to look to our members as our greatest resource for our convening power, our strength through diversity, and our source of ideas and leadership. We welcome your suggestions and your participation.



Margaret Osmer-McQuade

Margaret Osmer-McQuade  
*Director of Programs*

*Speaker and Topic*

*Presider, Date and Type of Meeting*

**Africa**

LOUIS NEL

*Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of South Africa*

"Nkomati: Before and After"

Edwin S. Munger

July 16, 1984

Roundtable Luncheon—Pasadena

BISHOP DESMOND TUTU

*General Secretary, The South African Council of Churches*

"The USA-South African Connection: A Black South African's Perplexities"

Adele Smith Simmons

October 30, 1984

Roundtable Meeting, Roundtable Dinner

HELEN SUZMAN

*Member of Parliament, South Africa*

"The Current Political Situation in South Africa"

J. Wayne Fredericks

November 7, 1984

Roundtable Meeting

BRYAN WILSON WALKER

*President, International Institute for Environment and Development*

"Famine in Africa—The Real Causes and Possible Solutions"

Richard W. Lyman

February 11, 1985

Roundtable Luncheon

M. GATSHA BUTHELEZI

*President, INKATHA; Chief Minister, Kwa Zulu; President, South African Black Alliance*

"U.S. Investment in South Africa"

David A. Morse

February 13, 1985

General Meeting



*M. Gatsha Buthelezi and Franklin Hall Williams*



*Donald M. Stewart and Chester A. Crocker*

## The Meetings Program



*Adele Smith Simmons and Bishop Desmond Tutu*



*Bona Malwal, J. Wayne Fredericks and Salwa Malwal*

<i>Speaker and Topic</i>	<i>Presider, Date and Type of Meeting</i>
LESTER R. BROWN <i>President, Worldwatch Institute</i> "Africa's Deepening Food Crisis"	Chester L. Cooper March 6, 1985 General Meeting—Washington
JOSEPH LELYVELD <i>The New York Times Magazine</i> "What's Happening in South Africa: A Reporter's View"	Osborn Elliott March 14, 1985 General Meeting
HOWARD WOLPE <i>Chairman, Subcommittee on Africa, House Committee on Foreign Affairs</i> "The United States and South Africa: The Other Issues"	Stephen Low March 21, 1985 General Meeting—Washington
BONA MALWAL <i>Senior Fellow, Institute of African Studies, School of International Affairs, Columbia University</i> "The Current Situation in the Sudan"	J. Wayne Fredericks April 23, 1985 Roundtable Meeting
FRANCIS WILSON <i>Director, SALDRU, University of Capetown</i> "Causes and Consequences of Poverty in South Africa"	Pearl T. Robinson April 25, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
OLIVER TAMBO <i>President, African National Congress of South Africa</i> "The Situation in South Africa and American Responses"	Donald F. McHenry April 30, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
CHESTER A. CROCKER <i>Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs</i> "Update on Southern Africa"	Donald M. Stewart May 14, 1985 General Meeting, Roundtable Dinner
NDABANINGI SITHOLE <i>Founder and President, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)</i> "The Current Situation in Zimbabwe"	Barbara D. Finberg June 19, 1985 Roundtable Meeting

## **Asia (and the Pacific)**

JAIME CARDINAL SIN <i>Archbishop of Manila</i> "The Church Above Political Systems"	John Brademas September 21, 1984 Breakfast Meeting
KINYA NIISEKI <i>President, The Japan Institute of International Affairs; Former Ambassador of Japan to the Soviet Union</i> "Soviet Policy Towards the Asia-Pacific Region and Its Implications for the Japanese-American Alliance"	James H. Billington September 26, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon—Washington
NOBORU TAKESHITA <i>Minister of Finance, Japan</i> "Japanese Economic Development in the World"	David Rockefeller September 28, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon

## The Meetings Program



*Kavyani Shankar Bajpai and Richard L. Sneider*



*Robert B. Oxnam and Won-Kyung Lee*



*Peter G. Peterson, interpreter, Noboru Takeshita and David Rockefeller*



<i>Speaker and Topic</i>	<i>Presider, Date and Type of Meeting</i>
WON-KYUNG LEE <i>Minister for Foreign Affairs, Korea</i> "The Northeast Asian Situation and Korean Foreign Policy"	Robert B. Oxnam October 4, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
KAYATYANI SHANKAR BAJPAI <i>Ambassador of India to the U.S.</i> "India and the United States—An Update"	David A. Hamburg December 3, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
FREDRICK F. CHIEN <i>Representative, Coordination Council for North American Affairs Office in the USA</i> RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE <i>Vice President, Public Strategies; Senior Advisor, Shearson Lehman/American Express, Inc.</i> "Taiwan and East Asia: Comparing Notes"	A. Doak Barnett February 26, 1985 General Meeting, Roundtable Dinner—Washington
DAIM BIN ZAINUDDIN <i>Minister of Finance, Malaysia</i> "A Conversation with the Minister of Finance"	Charles R. Stevens April 16, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
BENAZIR BHUTTO <i>Acting Chairman, Pakistan People's Party</i> "Implications of Military Rule for Pakistan"	Anne Karalekas April 18, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
HIDETOSHI UKAWA <i>Consulate General of Japan, New York</i> "U.S.-Japan Economic Relations"	Joseph A. Greenwald April 23, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
JOSÉ B. FERNANDEZ <i>Governor, Central Bank of The Philippines</i> "The Economic Transition Problems of The Philippines"	Laurence D. Stifel April 24, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
SIDDHI SAVETSILO <i>Minister of Foreign Affairs, Thailand</i> "The Role of the United States in Southeast Asia"	Richard C. Holbrooke May 20, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
RICHARD D. BROINOWSKI <i>Australian Ambassador to Vietnam</i> "Vietnam—Internal Developments and External Policies"	Roger Hilsman June 10, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
KOICHI KATO <i>Minister of State for Defense, Japan</i> "Japan's Defense Policy in Transition"	Isaac Shapiro June 12, 1985 General Meeting

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## The Meetings Program

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### *Speaker and Topic*

### *Presider, Date and Type of Meeting*

## The Americas

### North America

CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR.  
*U.S. Senator (R-Maryland)*

"Implications of the Economic Strains in the Alliance"

Winston Lord  
July 5, 1984

General Meeting and Roundtable  
Dinner—Paris

HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.  
*Majority Leader, United States Senate*

"Congress and Foreign Policy: Lessons From Three Terms"

Peter G. Peterson  
September 19, 1984

General Meeting, Roundtable  
Dinner—Washington

GEORGE P. SHULTZ  
*Secretary of State*

"A Conversation with the Secretary of State"

David Rockefeller  
October 1, 1984

General Meeting

MICHAEL NOVAK  
*Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public  
Policy Research*

"International Ethics and Campaign Politics: A  
Comparative Assessment"

Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.  
October 30, 1984

General Meeting—Washington

RICHARD R. BURT  
*Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian  
Affairs*

"The Next Phase in American Foreign Policy"

Stephen J. Solarz  
December 5, 1984

General Meeting, Roundtable  
Dinner—Washington

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI  
*Senior Advisor, Center for Strategic and International  
Studies, Georgetown University; Former National  
Security Adviser to President Jimmy Carter*

"The U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda"

Winston Lord  
December 20, 1984

Meeting for Members, Their  
Sons and Daughters

CHARLES WILLIAM MAYNES  
*Editor, Foreign Policy*

"A Modern Foreign Policy for America:  
What is the Meaning of Pragmatism"

William P. Bundy  
January 16, 1985

General Meeting—Washington

ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR., USA (RET.)  
*Former Secretary of State*

"Alexander Haig on American Foreign Policy"

Winston Lord  
February 21, 1985

General Meeting, Roundtable  
Dinner

DAVID DURENBERGER  
*U.S. Senator (R-Minnesota); Chairman, Senate Select  
Committee on Intelligence*

"Congress and Foreign Policy: Keeping the Balance"

William Hyland  
April 24, 1985

General Meetings, Roundtable  
Dinner—Washington



*George P. Shultz, Winston Lord and David Rockefeller*



*Arnaud De Borchgrave, Alexander M. Haig and William H. Sullivan*

## The Meetings Program



*Daniel Ortega Saavedra with interpreter*



*Jesus Silva-Herzog and Margaret Osmer-McQuade*



*Ernane Galveas and William D. Rogers*

<i>Speaker and Topic</i>	<i>Presider, Date and Type of Meeting</i>
<b>Latin America</b>	
ERNESTO ZEDILLO PONCE DE LEON <i>Director of The Trust Fund for the Coverage of Exchange            Risks (FICORCA), Banco de Mexico</i> "The Mexican Debt and Its Impact on the Economic Development Outlook"	Robert Carswell September 12, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
SOL M. LINOWITZ <i>Senior Counsel, Coudert Brothers</i> "The Crisis in Central America"	Warren Christopher September 17, 1984 General Meeting, Roundtable Dinner—Los Angeles
JUAN IGNACIO GUTIERREZ DE LA FUENTE <i>Vicar of the Vicariate of Solidarity, Santiago</i> "Political Turmoil and Human Rights in Chile"	Russell E. Marks, Jr. September 18, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
JESUS SILVA-HERZOG <i>Minister of Finance and Public Credit, Mexico</i> "A Conversation with Minister Jesus Silva-Herzog"	John H. Gutfreund September 27, 1984 General Meeting, Roundtable Dinner
DANIEL ORTEGA SAAVEDRA <i>Coordinator, Junta of the Government            of National Reconstruction</i> "Prospects for Democracy in Nicaragua"	Peter D. Bell October 2, 1984 General Meeting
FERNANDO ANDRADE DIAZ-DURAN <i>Minister for Foreign Relations, Guatemala</i> "Guatemala's Foreign Policy and the Central American Crisis"	Robert C. Helander October 3, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
DIEGO ASENCIO <i>United States Ambassador to Brazil</i> "Brazil in Transition"	Margaret Dulany October 11, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
JAMES CHACE <i>Member, Editorial Board, New York Times</i> Book Review "Talking and Fighting: Report From Central America"	Michael J. O'Neill October 31, 1984 Roundtable Meeting
ERNANE GALVEAS <i>Finance Minister, Brazil</i> "The New Dimensions of the Importance of World Trade"	William D. Rogers November 15, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
ARTURO JOSE CRUZ <i>Former Ambassador of Nicaragua to the United States;            Former Member, Junta of the Government of National            Reconstruction</i> "Nicaragua After the Elections"	Gale W. McGee November 19, 1984 General Meeting—Washington
JEAN ROBERT ESTIME <i>Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship, Haiti</i> "Economic Development in the Caribbean: The Case of Haiti"	Franklin H. Williams January 28, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon

## The Meetings Program

<i>Speaker and Topic</i>	<i>Presider, Date and Type of Meeting</i>
MARIANO GRONDONA <i>Editor, Vision—La Revista Latino-Americana, Buenos Aires</i> "Argentina: Prospects for Democracy"	Riordan Roett March 14, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
MARIO RAMON BETETA <i>Director General, Petroleos Mexicanos (PEMEX), Mexico</i> "Mexican Oil Policy"	John Elting Treat April 9, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon—Los Angeles
BERNARDO GRINSPUN <i>Minister of Planning, Argentina</i> "A Program to Support Democracy in Latin American Countries"	Robert C. Helander April 22, 1985 General Meeting, Roundtable Dinner

## Middle East

SAMUEL W. LEWIS <i>United States Ambassador to Israel</i> "Israel in the Wake of the Elections"	Hugh Carey September 14, 1984 General Luncheon
THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN <i>Jerusalem Bureau Chief, The New York Times</i> "The Lessons of Lebanon: A Personal Retrospective"	Diane Sawyer September 17, 1984 General Luncheon
VAHIT HALEFOGLU <i>Minister of Foreign Affairs, Turkey</i> "The West, the Middle East, and the New Dimensions of Turkish Politics"	Alfred Ogden September 26, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
PRINCE SAUD AL-FAISAL <i>Minister of Foreign Affairs, Saudi Arabia</i> "Saudi Arabia and the United States"	Henry A. Kissinger October 2, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
TARIO AZIZ <i>Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Iraq</i> "The Iraq-Iran Conflict and Security of the Gulf Region"	James Akins October 3, 1984 General Meeting
FAROUQ AL-SHARA <i>Minister of Foreign Affairs, Syria</i> "The Major Roadblock to Peace in the Middle East"	William B. Quandt October 4, 1984 General Meeting
SHIMON PERES <i>Prime Minister of Israel</i> "A Conversation with the Prime Minister"	Howard M. Squadron October 10, 1984 General Meeting
LOTTE SALZBERGER <i>Member, Executive Committee, City Council of Jerusalem</i> "Arab-Jewish Relations in Jerusalem"	Peter Osnos January 3, 1985 Roundtable Meeting
HISHAM NAZER <i>Minister of Planning, Saudi Arabia</i> "The Experience of Development in Saudi Arabia"	George W. Ball January 9, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon



*Winston Lord and Saud Al-Faisal*



*Shimon Peres*

## The Meetings Program



*Farouq Al-Shara and William B. Quandt*



*Yitzhak Rabin*



*Tariq Aziz and James Akins*



*Turgut Ozal*



<i>Speaker and Topic</i>	<i>Presider, Date and Type of Meeting</i>
ELAINE F. SCIOLINO <i>Correspondent, The New York Times</i> "Iraqi-U.S. Relations: The New Honeymoon?"	Fouad Ajami January 29, 1985 General Luncheon
TURGUT OZAL <i>Prime Minister, Turkey</i> "A Conversation with the Prime Minister"	Roy M. Huffington March 28, 1985 General Meeting, Roundtable Dinner
ADNAN ABU ODEH <i>Minister of the Royal Court, Hashemite Kindgdom of Jordan</i> "The Jordanian-Palestinian Initiative"	L. Dean Brown May 7, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon— Washington
RICHARD W. MURPHY <i>Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs</i> "Middle East Peace Prospects"	William E. Colby May 22, 1985 General Luncheon
YITZAK RABIN <i>Minister of Defense, Israel</i> "The Middle East: Summer 1985"	Edgar M. Bronfman June 6, 1985 General Meeting

## Western Europe

JOHN WAKEHAM, MP <i>Government Chief Whip and Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury</i> "Britain's Economic Progress"	Daniel A. Sharp September 20, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
CLAUDE CHEYSSON <i>Minister of Foreign Affairs, France</i> "The Eastern Face of Europe: The Central Issue of East-West Relations"	John D. Macomber September 24, 1984 General Meeting, Roundtable Dinner
SIR GEOFFREY HOWE, QC, MP <i>Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs</i> "The Atlantic Community: The View From Britain"	William D. Rogers September 25, 1984 General Meeting
CARLO DE BENEDETTI <i>Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Ing. C. Olivetti &amp; Co., S.p.A.</i> "The Challenge to Europe of the Technological Revolution"	Nathaniel Samuels November 20, 1984 General Meeting
BERNARD HANON <i>Former Chairman, Renault</i> "The Realities of Doing Business in France"	Marina v.N. Whitman March 21, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
DOUGLAS HURD, CBE, MP <i>Secretary of State for Northern Ireland</i> "Northern Ireland: The Realities"	Kevin O'Donnell March 27, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon

## The Meetings Program

<i>Speaker and Topic</i>	<i>Presider, Date and Type of Meeting</i>
HELMUT SCHMIDT <i>Former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany</i> "The Future of European-American Relations"	Henry A. Kissinger April 4, 1985 John J. McCloy Lecture, Roundtable Dinner
PIERRE BEREGOVY <i>Minister of Economy, Finance and the Budget, France</i> "The Upswing in the World Economy and Perspectives on the French Economy"	James D. Wolfensohn April 19, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
WILLY BRANDT <i>Former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany</i> "Remarks on East-West Relations"	William P. Bundy April 24, 1985 Meeting for Members and Their Spouses
<b><i>German Marshall Fund Series</i></b>	
OTTFRIED HENNIG <i>Parliamentary State Secretary, Federal Ministry of Intra-German Relations, Federal Republic of Germany</i> "Are the Germans Reliable—The German Nation Between West and East"	Frank Loy October 9, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
DAVID STEEL, MP <i>Leader of Liberal Party, United Kingdom</i> "The Current Political Situation in the United Kingdom"	Robert B. Semple, Jr. October 16, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
JEAN-MARIE BENOIST <i>Professor, History of Modern Civilization, College de France</i> "Is Socialism a Dead Concept in Europe?"	Richard C. Steadman November 5, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
CIRIACO DE MITA <i>Secretary-General of the Christian Democratic Party, Italy</i> "Challenges to Political Stability in Italy"	Richard N. Gardner December 17, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
VOLCKER RUHE <i>Deputy Chairman, CDU/CSU Party Group, Bundestag, Federal Republic of Germany</i> "Foreign and Security Policy of Germany"	Guido Goldman April 3, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
THIERRY DE MONTBRIAL <i>Director, French Institute of International Relations</i> "French Foreign and Security Policy in the Next Few Years"	Robert D. Hormats May 13, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
MICHEL ROCARD <i>Former Minister of Agriculture, France</i> "Can a Trade War Between Europe and the United States Be Avoided?"	David L. Aaron June 4, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon



*Sir Geoffrey Howe and William D. Rogers*



*John D. Macomber and Claude Cheysson*



*Elliot L. Richardson, Helmut Schmidt and Henry A. Kissinger*

## The Meetings Program

### *Speaker and Topic*

### *Presider, Date and Type of Meeting*

## Eastern Europe

ROBERT LEGVOLD  
*Associate Director, W. Averell Harriman Institute for  
Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia  
University*

ARNOLD HORELICK  
*Director, Rand-UCLA Center for the Study of Soviet  
International Behavior*  
"Soviet Leaders and Change"

OSKAR FISCHER  
*Minister of Foreign Affairs, German Democratic  
Republic*  
"Current Aspects of the Foreign Policy of the German  
Democratic Republic"

FERENC HAVASI  
*Member, Political Committee of the Central Committee and  
Secretary of the Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist  
Workers' Party of the Hungarian People's Republic*  
"Economic Developments in Hungary"

OLEG A. TROYANOVSKY  
*Ambassador, Permanent Representative of the Union of  
Soviet Socialist Republics to the United Nations*  
"Soviet-American Relations and the United Nations"

MILKA PLANINC  
*Prime Minister, Yugoslavia*  
"LDC Debts as an Issue in Current Political and  
Economic International Relations"

Colette Shulman  
September 11, 1984  
Roundtable Meeting, Roundtable  
Dinner (last meeting in Series  
on Soviet Union)

Richard C. Hottelet  
October 10, 1984  
Roundtable Luncheon

Charles Gati  
January 25, 1985  
Roundtable Luncheon

William G. Hyland  
March 20, 1985  
General Meeting

Arthur Schneier  
May 29, 1985  
Roundtable Luncheon

## Economic

DAVID C. MULFORD  
*Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for International  
Affairs*  
"International Debt Strategy and the Condition of the  
Major Debtors"

PAUL A. VOLCKER  
*Chairman, Federal Reserve System*  
"A Conversation with the Chairman of the Federal  
Reserve System"

JACQUES DE LAROSIERE  
*Managing Director, International Monetary Fund*  
"Developments and Prospectives in the World Economy  
and the Role of the International Monetary Fund"

John H. Watts  
October 29, 1984  
General Meeting, Roundtable  
Dinner

Lewis T. Preston  
November 28, 1984  
General Meeting, Roundtable  
Dinner

Walter B. Wriston  
November 29, 1984  
General Meeting, Roundtable  
Dinner



*Richard C. Hottelet, David Rockefeller and Oskar Fischer*



*Milka Planinc and Arthur Schneier*

## The Meetings Program

### *Speaker and Topic*

MALCOLM FRASER  
*Former Prime Minister of Australia*  
"The Debt Problems Facing the Third World and  
Implications for the Western Alliance"

PAULA STERN  
*Chairwoman, United States International Trade  
Commission*  
"Trade Policy Meets Industrial Policy: An Uneasy  
Relationship"

PAUL A. VOLCKER  
*Chairman, Federal Reserve System*  
"A Conversation with the Chairman of the Federal  
Reserve System"

PETER G. PETERSON  
*Chairman, Peterson, Jacobs & Company*  
"The Deficits—Domestic and External—  
The Dollar, The Debt: Are They Sustainable?"

ALAN GREENSPAN  
*President, Townsend-Greenspan Co., Inc.*  
"World Finance: The Driving Force of  
American Economic Policy"

### *Presider, Date and Type of Meeting*

Donald Fraser  
December 7, 1984  
Roundtable Luncheon—  
Minneapolis

William N. Walker  
December 10, 1984  
Roundtable Meeting, Roundtable  
Dinner

Winston Lord  
December 12, 1984  
Roundtable Luncheon—London

Felix G. Rohatyn  
January 22, 1985  
General Meeting

Robert V. Roosa  
March 28, 1985  
General Meeting, Roundtable  
Dinner



*William G. Hyland and Oleg A. Troyanovsky*



*Paula Stern*



*Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and David Rockefeller*



*Alan Greenspan and Robert V. Roosa*



*Jacques de Larosière and Walter Wriston*

## The Meetings Program

<i>Speaker and Topic</i>	<i>Presider, Date and Type of Meeting</i>
PEDRO-PABLO KUCZYNSKI <i>Co-chairman, First Boston International Company</i> "The Debt Question: The Role of The World Bank"	David O. Beim April 22, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
CHARLES P. KINDLEBERGER <i>President, American Economic Association, Ford</i> <i>Professor of Economics Emeritus and Senior Lecturer,</i> <i>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> "The Outlook for the Dollar: Near and Long Term"	Carlos F. Diaz-Alejandro April 29, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon
EDMONDE VALÉRY GISCARD D'ESTAING <i>Former President of France</i> "What Should Europe and the United States Do About the World's Monetary Problems?"	David Rockefeller June 18, 1985 General Meeting

## Military and Security

STROBE TALBOTT <i>Diplomatic Correspondent, Time Magazine</i> "Nuclear Arms Control Under President Reagan: The American Conduct of INF and START"	Amos A. Jordan October 15, 1984 General Meeting—Washington
ROBERT C. MCFARLANE <i>Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs</i> "Strategic Nuclear Parity: Implications for Global Stability"	Winston Lord October 17, 1984 New Members' Dinner
LORD CARRINGTON, PC, KCMG, MC <i>Secretary-General, NATO</i> "Issues Facing the Atlantic Alliance"	Thomas H. Wyman October 23, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
KENNETH ADELMAN <i>Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency</i> "Arms Control: Looking Back and Thinking Ahead"	Graham T. Allison October 25, 1984 General Meeting, Roundtable Dinner
ROSCOE ROBINSON <i>U.S. Representative to the Military Committee, NATO</i> "NATO From the Perspective of the Military Committee"	Zeb B. Bradford, Jr. December 11, 1984 Roundtable Luncheon
EDWARD L. ROWNY <i>Chairman, U.S. START Delegation, U.S. Arms</i> <i>Control and Disarmament Agency</i> "Prospects for Arms Control"	Carl E. Hartnack January 23, 1985 General Meeting, Roundtable Dinner—Los Angeles
RICHARD N. PERLE <i>Assistant Secretary of Defense for International</i> <i>Security Policy</i> "East-West Relations"	Philip A. Odeen January 31, 1985 General Meeting
JOHN T. CHAIN, JR., USAF <i>Director, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs,</i> <i>Department of State</i> "Geneva: What Happens Next on Arms Control"	David E. McGiffert February 28, 1985 General Meeting, Roundtable Dinner





*Luncheon in honor of Lord Carrington*

## The Meetings Program

<i>Speaker and Topic</i>	<i>Presider, Date and Type of Meeting</i>
BERNARD ROGERS <i>Supreme Allied Commander, Europe</i> "A Conversation with the Supreme Allied Commander, Europe"	Peter M. Dawkins April 16, 1985 General Meeting
MANFRED WOERNER <i>Minister of Defense, Federal Republic of Germany</i> "The German Contribution to NATO"	Helmut Sonnenfeldt May 9, 1985 General Meeting, Roundtable Dinner
WILLIAM J. CROWE, USN <i>Commander in Chief, U.S. Pacific Command</i> "U.S. Security Interests in the Pacific"	Mark E. Buchman May 10, 1985 Roundtable Luncheon—Los Angeles
RICHARD L. ARMITAGE <i>Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs</i> "Beyond Today's Headlines: Global Issues in the 90's"	Lawrence C. McQuade May 28, 1985 General Meeting, Roundtable Dinner
ROBERT S. MCNAMARA <i>Former Secretary of Defense, Former President, World Bank</i> "Reducing the Risk of Nuclear War: Is Star Wars a Step in the Right Direction?"	Harold Brown May 30, 1985 General Meeting, New Members' Dinner

## Global Problems

WILLIAM D. RUCKELSHAUS <i>Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency</i> "Current Issues in International Environmental Policy"	Frank Press November 27, 1984 General Meeting—Washington
CLAIRE STERLING <i>Author</i> "The Strategies of the Expanding Terrorist Conflict: How Best to Fight Back"	James Hoge January 28, 1985 Meeting for Members and Their Spouses
M. PETER MCPHERSON <i>Administrator, Agency for International Development</i> "Perspectives in Development"	Clifton R. Wharton May 6, 1985 General Meeting
CARL SAGAN <i>David Duncan Professor of Astronomy and Space Sciences; Director of the Laboratory for Planetary Studies, Cornell University</i> "Nuclear Winter: So What?"	Ivan Selin May 13, 1985 General Meeting—Washington



*Robert S. McNamara*



*Harold Brown*



*Bernard W. Rogers*



*Claire Sterling*

## The Meetings Program

*Speaker and Topic*

*Presider, Date and Type of Meeting*

### Members' Conferences

**"Prospects for Peace in the Middle East: The View From Israel"**

Cyrus R. Vance  
September 13, 1984  
Conference with The Dayan  
Center, Tel Aviv University

**"Egypt's Relations with Israel and the Arabs"**

Roundtable Meeting

SHIMON SHAMIR

*Director, Israeli Academic Center, Cairo; Professor,  
Modern Middle Eastern History, Tel Aviv University*

ALFRED L. ATHERTON, JR.

*Director General of the Foreign Service and Director of  
Personnel; Former U.S. Ambassador to Egypt*

**"The Israeli/Syrian/Lebanese Triangle"**

Roundtable Meeting

ITAMAR RABINOVICH

*Director, The Dayan Center and The Shiloah Institute for  
Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University*

WILLIAM B. QUANDT

*Research Fellow, The Brookings Institution; Former  
Director for Middle East Affairs, National Security Staff*

**"The Palestinian Question and the Jordanian Option"**

Roundtable Meeting

ASHER SUSSER

*Research Associate/Lecturer, The Dayan Center and The  
Shiloah Institute, Tel Aviv University*

HAROLD H. SAUNDERS

*Resident Fellow, The American Enterprise Institute;  
Former Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern  
and South Asian Affairs*

**"The Impact of Resurgent Islam on the Region"**

Roundtable Luncheon

MARTIN KRAMER

*Visiting Professor, Cornell University; Research Fellow,  
The Dayan Center, University of Tel Aviv*

BERNARD LEWIS

*Cleveland E. Dodge Professor of Near Eastern Studies,  
Princeton University; Long Term Member, Institute  
for Advanced Study, Princeton*

**"Israeli Policies in the Middle East"**

Roundtable Meeting

HAIM SHAKED

*Visiting Professor and Director of Middle East Studies,  
University of Miami Graduate School of International  
Studies*

MAX FRANKEL

*Editor of the Editorial Page, The New York Times*

<i>Speaker and Topic</i>	<i>Presider, Date and Type of Meeting</i>
<b>"The Pacific Basin: Economic Prospects and Strategic Concerns"</b>	Edward K. Hamilton November 13, 1984 San Francisco
"Economic Prospects" HARALD B. MALMGREN <i>President, Malmgren, Inc.</i> RICHARD P. COOLEY <i>Chairman of the Board, Seattle-First National Bank</i>	Roundtable Meeting
"Strategic Concerns" ROBERT A. SCALAPINO <i>Chairman, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley</i> ALLEN S. WHITING <i>Professor of Political Science and Director, Center for East Asian Studies, University of Arizona</i>	Roundtable Meeting
MICHAEL H. ARMACOST <i>Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs</i>	Roundtable Dinner
<b>European-American Project Conference: "Central America as a European-American Issue"</b>	Cyrus R. Vance March 22, 1985
MERCEDES RICO <i>Director General, Latin American Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Spain</i> IRVING KRISTOL <i>Co-Editor, The Public Interest</i> MICHAEL D. BARNES <i>U.S. Representative, Maryland, and Chairman, Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, House Foreign Affairs Committee</i> ALOIS MERTES <i>Minister of State, Foreign Office, Federal Republic of Germany</i>	Roundtable Meeting
DANIEL ODUBER QUIROS <i>Former President of Costa Rica</i>	Roundtable Luncheon
<b>"The Impact of Vietnam on American Foreign Policy"</b>	Winston Lord April 15, 1985
"Changes in the Policymaking Process" LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER <i>President, Kissinger Associates; Former Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs</i> JOHN F. KERRY <i>U.S. Senator, Massachusetts</i> JOSEPH KRAFT <i>Syndicated Columnist</i>	Roundtable Meeting

## The Meetings Program

<i>Speaker and Topic</i>	<i>Presider, Date and Type of Meeting</i>
<p>"Changes in How We Conduct Policy and View the Use of Force"</p> <p>PAUL F. GORMAN, USA  <i>Former Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Southern Command</i></p> <p>LESLIE H. GELB  <i>The New York Times; Former Director, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Department of State</i></p> <p>JOHN C. CULVER  <i>Partner, Arent, Fox, Kintner, Plotkin &amp; Kahn; Former U.S. Senator, (D-Iowa); Former Member, Senate Armed Services Committee</i></p>	Roundtable Meeting
<p>"Changes in How Others View the U.S. and Its Policies"</p> <p>KYUNG-WON KIM  <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Observer to the United Nations, Republic of Korea</i></p> <p>CARLOS ANDREAS PEREZ  <i>Former President of Venezuela</i></p> <p>CHRISTINE OCKRENT  <i>Journalist; Former Chief Editor and Anchor, "Antenne 2," Paris</i></p>	Roundtable Meeting
<p>"Changes in How America Views Itself and the World"</p> <p>HENRY A. KISSINGER  <i>Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.; Former Secretary of State</i></p>	Roundtable Meeting

## Special Meetings

<p>HENRY A. KISSINGER  <i>Former Secretary of State</i></p> <p>DAVID ROCKEFELLER  <i>Chairman of the Board, Council on Foreign Relations</i></p> <p>PETER G. PETERSON  <i>Chairman, Peterson, Jacobs &amp; Company</i></p>	<p>David Rockefeller  January 30, 1985  Special Luncheon in Honor of the Henry A. Kissinger Endowment</p>
<p>JOHN J. MCCLOY  DAVID ROCKEFELLER  <i>Chairman of the Board, Council on Foreign Relations</i></p> <p>SHEPARD STONE  <i>Director, Aspen Institute, Berlin</i></p> <p>HELMUT SCHMIDT  <i>Former Chancellor, Federal Republic of Germany</i></p> <p>HENRY A. KISSINGER  <i>Chairman, Kissinger Associates, Inc.</i></p>	<p>David Rockefeller  April 3, 1985  Special Dinner in Honor of John J. McCloy's 90th Birthday</p>

## The Studies Program

**I**n addition to its customary active attention to foreign policy issues, the Studies Program saw in 1984-85 the enlargement of its senior staff, the wider dissemination and notice of its publications, and some new formats.

Through its Studies Program, the Council focuses on selected major international policy issues facing the United States and American decision-makers in the near- to mid-term future. This is done in a variety of formats under the direction of the Studies staff, which provides professional expertise and leadership in a number of fields. All issues of importance to American foreign policy cannot be addressed simultaneously, but subjects for study are selected to provide, over time, coverage of most significant areas and problems.

Every year the Studies staff brings together approximately 15 study groups, each with 20-35 Council members and outside specialists, for detailed examination of key issues. The issues selected for study are identified by the resident senior fellows on the staff and approved by the Board of Directors' Committee on Studies, chaired by Marina Whitman, which oversees the work of the Studies Program. Much of this activity could not be carried out without the strong support of a number of major foundations—whose names are given on p. 119—for specific projects and programs. Participants are selected from the entire range of Council members, including representatives from government, business, journalism, science, labor, academic and political life. To a greater degree in recent years we are also drawing on experts from abroad as discussion leaders and paper writers. Each group is chaired by a Council member of recognized stature in a given area, who provides intellectual leadership to the group's work.

Study groups customarily aim toward a published book or monograph, in order to bring the work of the Studies Program to a wider audience. These are usually by a single author whose draft chapters serve as the basis for discussions or who

writes a book after the group has concluded, drawing on the discussions as well as expressing his or her own ideas. Individual background papers may sometimes be published as articles or, occasionally, in compendium volumes.

Thanks to the efforts of David Kellogg, Publications Director, we have been able to bring the work of the Studies Program to the attention of increasing numbers of readers. The Council publishes some works itself; others are published through university or commercial presses. This year the Council itself brought out another volume in the European-American Project, reports on two Council conferences (one with Indians, the other with Israelis), and *Latin Migration North*. These paperbacks are widely distributed both in the United States and overseas to Council members, government officials, and others with direct interest in the subjects—at levels sometimes of 6,000-7,000 copies each. They are also marketed to individuals, libraries, and faculty members for classroom adoption. When outside presses publish our books, they take the lead in publicity and marketing, with active support from the Council's publications office. This year there was a total of ten such co-publications.

Two ways in which our books reach wider audiences are worth noting. One is through the generous coverage they have received in the press. *Third World Instability*, for instance, was excerpted at some length in the *New York Times* and also reviewed there, and was the subject of a *Los Angeles Times* lead news story, wire service stories, and a *Christian Science Monitor* feature. Other titles—such as *The Making of America's Soviet Policy*, *A Changing Israel*, *American Hostages in Iran*, and *Strategic Stalemate*—received extensive notice in such major review media as the *Washington Post Book World*, the *Times Literary Supplement* (London), *The New Republic*, and the *New York Times Book Review*. Another way is through direct marketing. This year, for example, saw our first

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## The Studies Program

overseas catalog of recent publications mailed to individuals and organizations in Europe and elsewhere—an effort that we plan to expand, possibly in cooperation with other organizations.

It is our goal to produce publications—whether articles or books, hard or soft cover—that address serious policy issues in ways that will provide new ideas for policy professionals while remaining accessible to the interested layman. (For a full list of current and recent Council publications, see pp. 152-53.)

Occasionally, the staff organizes discussion groups with the same range of participants as for study groups in order to explore issues which may not yet be ripe for consideration in a publication-oriented study group, but which may help the participants to think through the subject more thoroughly as well as help pave the way for future Council study efforts. From time to time, the staff also arranges *ad hoc* seminars for small groups of members with visitors from the United States and abroad.

The Council also participates in a number of jointly sponsored activities—seminars, symposia, conferences, study groups—with other institutions in the United States and abroad. Each project is carefully selected for what the Council can contribute to it and for the new dimension it will add to our work. We participated in such projects or programs this year with the Overseas Development Council, the American Assembly, the Japan Society, the Japan Center for International Exchange, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and the Institut Français des Relations Internationales. The papers prepared for the symposium on technology and foreign relations co-sponsored in May 1984 with the National Academy of Sciences were subsequently revised and edited and published this year by the Academy's press as a joint Council/NAS/National Academy of Engineering book entitled *Technological Frontiers and Foreign Relations*.

We continued a special kind of joint activity this year, the "parallel" study

group held outside New York and Washington, designed to involve Council members from other parts of the country who cannot easily participate in East Coast meetings. With the generous assistance of Council members in the World Affairs Council of Northern California, and with the support of the Ford Foundation, we held a meeting in San Francisco to discuss this year's Whitney Shepardson Fellow Benjamin Cohen's draft manuscript on international banking and foreign policy. A group of West Coast bankers, academics, and other specialists reviewed the manuscript, giving Professor Cohen the benefit of distinguished professional advice to supplement what he had already been receiving from a similar group in New York.

Studies Program activities and programming are steadily increasing and being enriched as efforts to expand and strengthen the staff have successfully gone forward. This year brought the arrival of C. Michael Aho as Senior Fellow and chief economist and of Alan Romberg as Senior Fellow for Asia. As noted below, we are now looking forward to Dorothy Sobol's joining the staff in August as second Senior Fellow in economics and to having Paul Jabber take up the position of Senior Fellow for the Middle East in the fall. They will bring added dynamism to the Studies Program in two critical areas.

At the same time, we regret the departure of Helena Stalson, who retired this year as Senior Fellow in economics after a long career at the Council. The assistance she provided to members and staff alike on all questions involving economic issues and the care with which she organized and directed studies over the years were invaluable and will be missed.

For this interim year while we undertook a search for a Middle East Fellow and while we continue to seek a Fellow for Soviet affairs, we are particularly indebted to the Visiting Fellows and other Council members who directed study groups and are writing books for the Council. Their work is described in detail



below, but we should note here that the vigor of this year's program is due in considerable part to them. We are grateful as well to those members who contributed to the program through chairing groups, leading discussions, writing papers, reading manuscripts, and constantly sharing with us their knowledge and wisdom.

#### **Special Political and Military Studies**

In addition to the economic and regional studies described in the following pages, this year we undertook studies on a variety of subjects from nuclear diplomacy to the way in which television covers foreign affairs.

The group on nuclear diplomacy, which met in Washington, focused on arms control diplomacy relating to strategic and intermediate-range nuclear forces but in a wider context than that of detailed negotiating positions. As Russian and American leaders trade charges over the observation of past agreements and as the arms talks in Geneva continue, the subject continues to be of major concern, and four to six additional sessions will be scheduled in 1985-86. The group has proven to be a useful forum for an exchange of views between those currently in government and those with previous government experience.

Several of the papers prepared for this group are in the process of being published in various journals, and we may also at the conclusion of the project publish a separate monograph by a single author which would draw together a number of the strands which have been emerging in the discussions.

A book on a related subject by Michael Krepon, currently Senior Associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a former International Affairs Fellow of the Council, was published this year for the Council. Entitled *Strategic Stalemate: Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control in American Politics*, the book covers the political dynamic over the last four decades in the United States which has been created by the debates on

nuclear weapons and arms control, highlights points of contention that must be bridged if the stalemate is to be broken, presents guidelines for consensus bargaining between the contending groups, and indicates areas for tacit agreements on divisive key issues. Mr. Krepon's draft manuscript was the subject of close examination at an author's review meeting at the Council in Washington last year, and upon publication he discussed the central ideas in the book at a Council press conference and meeting in Washington.

William Blakemore, the distinguished ABC correspondent who has been the 1984-85 Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow, organized a study group on how television covers issues of foreign policy concern. Chaired by Victor Palmieri and with regular participation by a broad cross-section of network news managers and anchors as well as current and former government officials, the group examined how government and the television news industry affect one another. It also confronted the issue of accountability—to whom is, or should be, television responsible in its coverage of international news? Mr. Blakemore plans to write a short book drawing on the study group's discussions and his own views on this subject.

In June 1984, at the suggestion of New York Senator Patrick Moynihan, Dean Gidon Gottlieb of the University of Chicago Law School, and several other Council members, the Council organized an exploratory meeting on the relevance of international law to the conduct of U.S. foreign policy. The quality of that meeting and the range and depth of issues raised led the Council to organize a full study group on "international law and the role of force: the implications for U.S. foreign policy." Chaired by William D. Rogers and under John Temple Swing's direction, the group discussed issues such as: attempts at rule-making between the superpowers to achieve crisis prevention in situations that might otherwise lead to the use of force; the viability

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of third-party dispute-settlement institutions and procedures; and what rules governing the use of force the United States should be willing to abide by. Further meetings will be held in the fall.

The 1983-84 study group on Antarctica, which Eugene Skolnikoff chaired with Janice Murray as director, concluded with a meeting this spring on possible options for U.S. policy toward the region. Deborah Shapley is completing a policy-oriented article building on the group's deliberations for publication later this year.

### Economic Studies

In November C. Michael Aho, formerly, Director of the Office of International Economic Research at the Department of Labor and more recently, economic policy adviser to Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey, took up the position of Senior Fellow and chief economist. Under his direction, the Council has begun a two-to-three-year study on the future of the world trading system and the challenges for U.S. policy. The next few years represent a critical juncture for the trading system. Nations will either work together to revitalize the system or pursue nationalistic policies that could well bring the system down with grave consequences for international po-

litical and economic stability. The objective of the study is to examine in depth, from a variety of domestic and international perspectives, the major problems affecting the international trading system and how they may be overcome. The project will consist of a series of study groups, conferences and eight to ten published studies designed to contribute to the national and international debate on trade policy issues. The first groups, which will begin in the fall, will focus on agriculture, new issues in the trade in technology, and the developing countries and the trading system.

A steering committee chaired by Edmund T. Pratt, Jr., Chairman of Pfizer, Inc., will oversee the project. It met twice in 1984-85 to identify the problems plaguing the world trading system, to assess current U.S. trade policy, and to establish a work program for the project. The committee will continue to meet periodically to discuss current developments with leading experts and policy-makers, to provide guidance on major issues in need of examination, and to review the papers of the various groups.

Michael Aho and Jonathan Aronson, an International Affairs Fellow of the Council, are co-authoring a short book on prospects for future multilateral trade negotiations.



*International Trade Project Steering Committee*

A second Senior Fellow in economics will join the staff in August: Dorothy Meadow Sobol, currently chief of the research departments for the International Financial Markets and the Developing Economies Divisions of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Her experience in these areas will complement the trade project studies and give the Council added breadth as well as depth in its economic studies. Under her direction the Council is currently planning two further economic studies for the coming year: one will address the various changes taking place in international financial markets with a view to identifying how the changes affect who is able to compete in the various markets and on what terms. A second will focus on patterns of financing for developing countries, examining prospective sources of medium- and longer-term financing for those countries.

Professor Benjamin J. Cohen of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University, in residence at the Council this year as the Shepardson Fellow, completed the first draft of a book on the relationship between international banking activity and government policy. Drawing on extended discussions at a Council study group on this subject the previous year as well as on extensive research and interviewing of his own, Professor Cohen examined the implications of the rapid expansion of private bank lending in the last quarter-century for the formulation and conduct of American foreign policy. A small group of bankers and academics met three times at the Council to discuss draft chapters with Professor Cohen, and as noted earlier, a similar group met in San Francisco in June to discuss the full manuscript. Publication by a major press for a general audience is planned for 1986.

The review meetings for Professor Cohen's manuscript were named "The Walter Hoeschild Economic Review Meetings" in honor of the late Mr. Hoeschild, a long-time Council member, in whose memory the AMAX Foundation gave a gift to support Council work

in international economic policy. The Hoeschild Fund also supports the Trade Project steering committee.

#### **North America**

With Canada and the United States emerging from a troubled period in their relationship, and with both having held national elections in 1984, it seemed a particularly appropriate moment to take stock of the relationship and where it may be heading. The Council and the American Assembly therefore co-sponsored an Assembly on Canada and the United States in November 1984 which explored principal issues likely to appear on the continuing bilateral agenda. A group of 58 Canadians and Americans representing a range of political and professional viewpoints discussed freer trade, environmental quality, investment, resource policies, cultural sensitivities, defense, and the broader international agenda. John H. Sigler and Charles Doran directed the Assembly and co-edited the papers used as background reading by the participants and subsequently published in a book entitled *Canada and the United States: Enduring Friendship, Persistent Stress*.

A small group gathered at the Council in December to discuss a paper by William Diebold on some possible long-term sources of U.S.-Canadian friction in a relationship whose complexity and intimacy make periods of tension inevitable, as the second part of the Assembly volume subtitle suggests.

#### **Latin America**

Michael S. Teitelbaum's monograph on *Latin Migration North: The Problem for U.S. Foreign Policy*, an outgrowth of the Council's study of U.S. immigration policy and Latin America, was published in May 1985. In this work, which appeared at a crucial point in the national debate on immigration policy, Mr. Teitelbaum assesses proposals for immigration policy reform and the short- and long-term implications for U.S. relations with Central America, Cuba, Mexico, and the other Caribbean countries. Mr. Teitel-

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baum presented his conclusions at a briefing for the press and Council members in Washington in June. He and Ambassador Diego Asencio also spoke at a meeting of the Tampa Bay Area Committee on Foreign Relations.

The discussion group on Central America continued under Edward Hamilton's chairmanship with meetings on security issues in the region and a Mexican perspective on the regional crisis. No publication is planned at present in connection with this group, but the participants are eager to continue the discussions on an *ad hoc* basis to keep abreast of current analysis of the continuing crisis.

The study group on U.S. relations with the advanced developing countries of Latin America, chaired by Fred Bergsten, which began last year discussed the cases of Brazil and Mexico.

Plans for next year's Latin American program, which is directed by Susan Kaufman Purcell, include a study group on U.S. relations with Mexico at a time when that crucial bilateral relationship may be headed for a period of difficulties. Another group will study regional organizations and collective security in Latin America, considering the future of the OAS and the relevance and validity of collective security arrangements in the hemisphere. Policy-oriented publications are planned in conjunction with both studies, and Susan Purcell is currently revising her study of relations between the United States and Cuba, which we expect will be published in the coming year.

In addition to the study groups and works in progress, the Latin America project continued the series of breakfast seminars and *ad hoc* meetings for small groups of Council members.

### Western Europe

The project on European-American relations under Andrew J. Pierre's direction continued as the centerpiece of Studies Program activity in this area. The project is designed to identify and define critical issues confronting Europeans and

Americans and to discuss the resulting policy choices facing decision-makers and the concerned public on both continents. A series of ten short books covering these issues is being published. Each includes essays by Americans and Europeans with varying perspectives but who represent important decision-making groups and tendencies in their respective societies.

An advisory group, with Cyrus Vance as chairman and Robert Hormats as vice chairman, meets periodically to plan and discuss the contributions to each volume. The first two books, published last year, were *Nuclear Weapons in Europe* and *Unemployment and Growth in the Western Economies*. The third volume, *Third World Instability: Central America as a European-American Issue*, appeared this year. The European and American contributors to the latter were Fernando Morán, until recently Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs; Irving Kristol, Co-editor, *The Public Interest*; Michael D. Barnes, United States Representative (D., Maryland); and the late Alois Mertes, formerly Minister of State in the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany. In addition, this volume contained an essay by Daniel Oduber, former President of Costa Rica, which added the perspective of an eminent Central American statesman on European and American approaches to the issues.

Three books are planned for the coming year. Book four will examine the impact of changing social, cultural, generational, demographic, and other domestic trends in the United States and Western Europe and their effect on the European-American relationship in essays by Ralf Dahrendorf and Theodore C. Sorensen. The fifth volume will focus on the growing debate over how best to improve conventional defense in Europe and reduce reliance on nuclear weapons through the use of new military strategies. The authors will be General Sir Hugh Beach, Andreas von Buelow, Richard DeLauer, François Heisbourg, and Andrew J. Pierre. The authors for the sixth volume, which will deal with politi-



*Irving Kristol, Alois Mertes, Mercedes Rico and Cyrus R. Vance at the European-American Conference on Central America*

cal, economic and other consequences of the growing "technology gap" between Europe and the United States and Japan, are still being selected.

In addition to distributing the published books as widely as possible in the United States and Europe, the project seeks to extend its impact through meetings and conferences. A members' conference on "Central America as a European-American Issue" was held at the Council in March based on the issues and viewpoints in the Central America volume. Meetings scheduled for Bonn and Madrid in late June based on this same study had to be cancelled due to the sad and untimely death of Minister Mertes.

In a separate but complementary endeavor, Alton Frye has begun a series of seven seminars in Washington on changes in the European Community and the implications for the United States. (See the Washington Program section for a full description.)

#### **The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe**

In 1984-85, a study group on Eastern Europe focused on uncertainties in this perennially unsettled region and prospects for its future relations with Western Europe, the Soviet Union, and the United States. This was the first "John J. McCloy Study Group," named in honor of the eminent American statesman and former Chairman of the Council.

The group, chaired by Graham Allison, was organized and co-directed by Warren Zimmermann, formerly Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, who spent several months on leave from the State Department as a Council/Carnegie Endowment Visiting Fellow, and by Karen Dawisha, Visiting Associate Professor of Politics at Princeton. The discussions are serving as the basis for a short policy-oriented book which will be written by Ms. Dawisha in the coming year.

There are several works in progress

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on the Soviet Union which originated in the Soviet Project formerly directed by Robert Legvold prior to his move to the Harriman Institute. These include his own study of U.S.-Soviet relations, which he hopes to complete in the main in the coming year; and John Campbell's analysis of Soviet relations with those countries outside the Warsaw Pact framework with which it maintains particularly close but differentiated relationships, which we hope can be published in the coming year.

While continuing to seek a full-time successor to Mr. Legvold, we were extremely fortunate to have Warren Zimmermann at the Council for much of this year and benefitted greatly from his extensive knowledge of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

### The Middle East

We are very pleased that Paul Jabber, Vice President, Political Assessment Group, in the International Department of Bankers Trust Company, and a consultant on Middle East politics and security affairs, will join the Council as Senior Fellow for the Middle East in the fall of 1985. That the Middle East program maintained momentum and vitality during the period while we were seeking a full-time fellow is largely due to the continuing assistance of Peter Grose and several Council members and outside specialists, to whom we are most grateful.

Dankwart Rustow and Delwin Roy completed draft manuscripts on Turkey and Egypt, respectively, drawing on earlier study groups on those countries. A Council author's review group went over Mr. Roy's manuscript in detail in June, and that book is now in the process of revision. A similar group will consider Professor Rustow's book shortly. Continuing the series of country studies which began with Israel, a study group on Jordan under the direction of Arthur Day, formerly Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs and Consul General in Jerusalem, and chaired

by Olin Robison, focused on political, security and economic trends, drawing on the knowledge and perceptions of several prominent Jordanians as discussion leaders. Mr. Day is in the process of completing a book based in part on the meetings of this group, which will assess change in Jordan and the implications for U.S. policy.

The other new study group, chaired by Charles Issawi, dealt with the forces of Arab radicalism, *i.e.*, the forces represented by Syria, Libya, the PLO, the Amal Movement of Lebanon, and others which appear to be challenging the status quo orientations and policies of moderate Arab regimes, both internally and in the diplomacy of the Middle East. Adeed Dawisha, previously Deputy Director of Studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, directed the group as a Consulting Fellow for the Council this year and is writing a book on the subject.

There were three Council publications on the Middle East this year, beginning with Mr. Grose's book, *A Changing Israel*, which was based on discussions in the 1982-83 study group on internal change in Israel and in which he dealt with the profound changes in that society. The Council itself published *Prospects for Peace in the Middle East: The View from Israel*, the transcript of a conference held at the Council in September 1984. The third volume was *American Hostages in Iran: The Conduct of a Crisis*, by Warren Christopher and several other policy-makers and negotiators directly involved in the resolution of the crisis.

The Council's study program for the Middle East for the coming year is still being formulated in consultation with the new Senior Fellow for the region, Paul Jabber. We also plan at least one meeting to review the judgments in Peter Grose's book on Israel in the aftermath of 18 months of a Labor-Likud coalition government.

## Asia

Alan Romberg joined the Studies staff in March as Senior Fellow directing studies on Asia after twenty years in the State Department, virtually all of which were devoted to Asia. In his last assignment, just before joining the Council, Mr. Romberg was Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs and Deputy Spokesman of the Department. He is the first holder of the new Starr Fellowship for Asia Studies. The Council is deeply grateful to the Starr Foundation, which made this fellowship possible by its generous grant to The Campaign for the Council.

Studies relating to Asia were further strengthened this year by the presence of Robert Immerman as a Visiting Fellow on a year's leave of absence from the Foreign Service. Mr. Immerman's last post at the American Embassy in Tokyo was as Political Counselor, and he served there as labor attaché from 1975 to 1979. Drawing on his expertise in this field, he directed a study group on labor issues in U.S.-Japan relations, under James Hodgson's chairmanship. The group dealt with changes in the labor movements of both countries, the role of organized labor in political life, labor's impact on domestic and foreign economic policies as well as on the relationships between unions in the two countries, and the effect of labor's activities and concerns on the overall bilateral relationship.

The labor study group is part of a joint project with the Japan Center for International Exchange. A group of Japanese authors concurrently examined the same issues and they have been preparing a series of essays paralleling ones written by American authors. The latter will meet with their Japanese counterparts as well as a number of other American and Japanese participants and several Council staff members for a binational discussion of the issues in Honolulu in August 1985 under the auspices of the Japan Center for International Exchange and the East-West Center, with the hope that a joint publication may re-



Alan D. Romberg

sult. Upon leaving the Council, Mr. Immerman will be Political Counselor at the United States Mission to the United Nations.

The *ad hoc* meetings on China and Japan continued with sessions on recent changes in China and their implications for China itself and the rest of the world, and on the general lessons to be drawn for the future course of U.S.-Japan relations from the recent tensions in specific areas such as telecommunications. At the initiative of Ellen Frost and under her chairmanship, the Studies Program of the Council and the Japan Society jointly sponsored a seminar on "Expanding Technology Transfer between the United States and Japan." The seminar identified a number of significant issues, but only scratched the surface of a topic that deserves increasing and sustained attention in the future.

In addition, Richard Holbrooke chaired a single study meeting examining the broad significance of the reopening of a limited dialogue between North and South Korea in 1984 for South Korea and U.S. policy toward the region.

Just prior to the Indian Prime Minister's visit to Washington in June, the

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Council published a report on *India and the United States* based on two U.S.-Indian conferences held in this country in 1982 and in India in 1984. Both were co-sponsored by the Council and the Indian Council of Cultural Relations. The report, prepared by Selig S. Harrison from the detailed notes of Indian and American rapporteurs at both conferences, brought out a number of key themes which appear to be central to the thinking of Americans and Indians and which clarify both possibilities for common approaches to international issues and to bilateral relations and areas of more abiding difference.

Mr. Romberg is planning a very energetic series of studies for 1985-86 on a range of issues of major concern to U.S. policy in Asia. One will deal with the implications for Japanese policy and for U.S.-Japan relations of technological change in Japan. A second would examine, through a series of study group meetings or a single two- or three-day seminar discussion, some of the basic social, cultural and demographic changes underway in both American and Japanese society, and the longer-term implications for bilateral relations. A third may look at technological change in China and the U.S. role affecting that change. The Brookings Institution will join the Council in a joint project to be done by Harry Harding on Deng Xiaoping's post-Mao reforms in China, and their implications for China and for Sino-U.S. relations. Mr. Romberg will also direct a study on future developments in Taiwan and their implications for relations with both the P.R.C. and the United States. Individual "watching brief" meetings will look at other areas in the region—the Philippines, Korea, Indochina, and Pakistan—on which further Council work may be more urgently called for in the course of the year.

### Africa

The Council and the Overseas Development Council have jointly undertaken a major study aimed at identifying

policies that may foster Africa's longer-term economic and social growth, and options for U.S. trade and financial relationships with that region. The two organizations formed the Committee on African Development Strategies under the co-chairmanship of Donald F. McHenry, University Research Professor of Diplomacy and International Affairs at Georgetown University and former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and Lawrence S. Eagleburger, President of Kissinger Associates and former Under Secretary of State. The Committee includes American leaders from corporate, academic and political life. The project has been co-directed by Jennifer Seymour Whitaker, Senior Fellow of the Council, and Robert J. Berg, Senior Fellow of the Overseas Development Council.

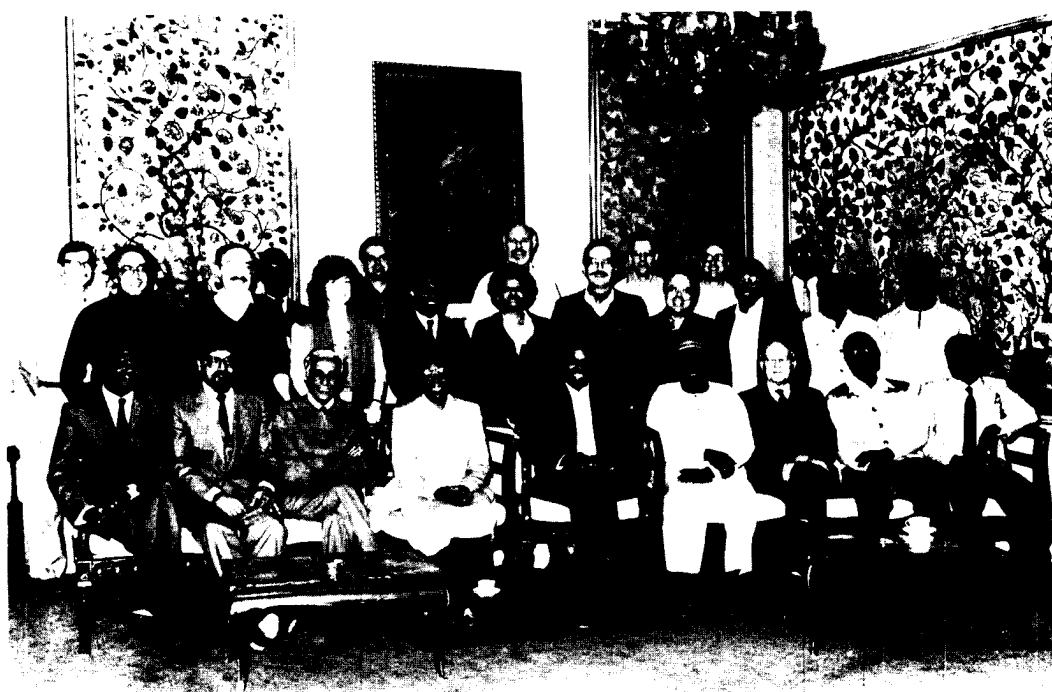
The Committee explored Africa's aid and trade options, questions of governance and economic policy, environmental strategies, issues in health and population, agricultural needs, and options for human resource development. It commissioned a series of papers which were discussed by both Africans and Americans, and a high-level group of Americans and Africans met in Bellagio in May to consider policies identified by the Committee. A report of the Committee's recommendations will be issued in September, and will be distributed to leadership groups and concerned individuals throughout the United States. Jennifer Whitaker will write a short book on the subject next year for a wider audience.

This year also saw the publication of two books that originated in the Council's previous Africa project: I. William Zartman's study of lessons to be learned from four cases of persistent conflict in Africa, *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa*; and *Arms and the African: The Military Influences on Africa's International Relations*, edited by William J. Foltz and Henry S. Bienen.

### Studies Program Seminars

In addition to the formal study groups and larger projects, the Studies





*African-American Conference at Bellagio*



*Jennifer Whitaker, Donald F. McHenry and Howard Wolpe*

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staff arranges small, informal, *ad hoc* seminars for staff and small numbers of Council members. These sessions enable us to benefit from visits by Americans from outside New York or foreigners who are interested in learning about the Council's role in the U.S. foreign policy-making process, and who bring fresh insights and contribute substantively to our understanding of foreign policy issues. Approximately 35 such meetings were held in 1984-85, including the Latin American project series of breakfast meetings. (See the listing at the end of this section.)

### Military Study Trip

With the able assistance of Colonel David Cooper, this year's Army Fellow, the Council arranged a trip to Washington in April for a small group of members. The participants discussed the Army's force modernization program with senior Army leaders, looking specifically at the M-1 battle tank as a means of considering how and why the Army decided to procure a major new system, technical production and budgeting problems, and the Army's doctrine and capabilities for use of the system. The group met for briefings at the Pentagon, visited the Aberdeen Proving Grounds to see the M-1 in action, and held discussions with Army and Defense Department officials, as well as Congressional and other close observers of the M-1 process, and representatives of the primary production contractors. It was an invaluable opportunity to observe and discuss one major example of military decision-making.

### Whitney H. Shepardson Fellowship

The Shepardson Fellowship, named for one of the founders of the Council, brings to the Council an individual with substantial experience and recognized professional stature in public or academic affairs connected with international relations. The Council expects that a Shepardson Fellow will spend about a year in residence at the Harold Pratt House, participating actively in the full range of

Council programs and working on a book or other significant piece of writing on a major foreign policy problem. The fellowship is not limited to U.S. citizens.

In 1984-85, the Shepardson Fellowship was held by Benjamin J. Cohen, William L. Clayton Professor of International Economic Affairs at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, whose research was discussed on p. 61 above.

### Walter Levy Fellowship

Each year the Council brings to the United States for brief periods people from abroad who have not been frequent visitors to this country. Candidates for the Levy Fellowship are individuals who are expected to assume increasingly important roles in their own countries, who would benefit from meeting a variety of



Aquilino Pimentel, Jr.

Americans concerned with international affairs, and who have a contribution to make to the work of the Council. Levy Fellows usually spend a week to ten days in New York and Washington, and a week visiting and speaking to a number of Committees on Foreign Relations. The fellowship was established by a grant from Walter J. Levy.

The 1984-85 Levy Fellow was Aquilino Pimentel, Jr., leader of the Philippine Democratic Party-Laban, one of the two major parties comprising the Philippine parliamentary opposition. Mr. Pimentel spoke at Council meetings in New York and Washington on "Prospects for Democracy in the Philippines," and met as well with journalists, bankers and government officials among others. He also addressed Committees on Foreign Relations in Boston, Worcester, Philadelphia, and St. Louis.

#### **Military Fellows**

The Army, Navy, Air Force and, beginning in 1982, occasionally the Marine Corps nominate officers as candidates for the Council's Military Fellowships. These fellowships enable the officers selected to broaden their understanding of foreign relations through participating in Council programs, interacting with Council members and staff, and pursuing independent studies in their areas of special interest. Two Military Fellows are usually in residence at the Council each year.

The Fellows are chosen by a selection committee of Council members chaired by Robert H. B. Baldwin, former Chairman of Morgan Stanley Company and formerly Under Secretary of the Navy. Committee members are General Lew Allen, USAF (ret.), Lt. General Sidney B. Berry, USA (ret.), Vice Admiral Thor Hanson, USN (ret.), Philip A. Odeen, and Richard C. Steadman.

In 1984-85 the Army Fellow was Colonel David E. K. Cooper, who came to the Council after serving as Commander of the 2nd Brigade, 25th Infantry Division, Hawaii. The Air Force Fellow was Colonel K. Scott Fisher, previously

Assistant Deputy Director for Regional Plans and Policy, Directorate of Plans, at Air Force Headquarters in Washington.

Both Fellows took part in the variety of programs offered by the Council. In addition, Colonel Cooper took the lead, working with Colonel Fisher, in organizing the successful military study trip. Colonel Fisher presented an analysis of prospects for political change in South Africa at a Council staff meeting, and spoke at local educational institutions and military associations, as well as serving as a discussant at the International Studies Association annual meeting.

Upon leaving the Council, Colonel Fisher assumed the post of Vice Commander, 463rd Tactical Airlift Wing (MAC), at Dyess Air Force Base in Texas. Colonel Cooper will be Chief of the Joint Army-Air Force Assessment and Initiatives Group, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Plans, Department of the Army.

The Military Fellows for 1985-86 will be Colonel Bruce M. Freeman, USAF, Chief of the Operations and Safety Inspection Division, Inspector General, Headquarters, USAF in Europe, at Ramstein Air Force Base; and Captain Barry M. Plott, USN, Commanding Officer, *USS Brooke* (FFG 1).

#### **State Department Fellowship**

The State Department Fellowship is offered annually to a Foreign Service Officer chosen by a selection committee of Council members from candidates nominated by the Department of State. The Fellow is encouraged to participate in all Council programs during his or her fellowship tenure as well as to pursue studies of U.S. foreign policy problems of particular personal interest.

There was no State Department Fellow in 1984-85, but we were fortunate to have Warren Zimmermann for part of the year as Council on Foreign Relations/Carnegie Endowment Visiting Fellow. Mr. Zimmermann came from Moscow, where he had been serving as Deputy Chief of Mission of the U.S. Embassy.

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## The Studies Program

He helped organize and direct the Council study group on Eastern Europe as well as pursuing his own writing before leaving at the Administration's request to serve as Deputy to Head of Delegation and Executive Director, Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, in Geneva.

### **The Elihu Root and Russell Leffingwell Lectures**

Periodically, distinguished Council members are asked to deliver the Elihu Root Lectures, named for a founder of the Council who was its honorary President from 1921 to 1937. The Root Lectures are usually given in a series of three meetings, with the expectation that they will subsequently be published. This format enables the lecturer, drawing on his or her experience in public life, to reflect on and discuss in depth a major foreign policy issue.

The Russell C. Leffingwell Lectures, a companion series to the Root Lectures, offer a similar opportunity to noted non-Americans. Named for a former President and Chairman of the Board of the Council, the Leffingwell Lectures are made possible through the generosity of the Leffingwell family and the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company.

The Root and Leffingwell Lectures were not given in 1984-85.

### **Staff Outside Activities**

Each member of the Studies staff engages in a range of outside activities in addition to undertaking the intellectual and administrative direction of Council studies, pursuing individual research and writing as a recognized specialist in a particular field, and providing advice and assistance to all parts of the Council, including the Committees on Foreign Relations. Senior Fellows participate in the national debate on foreign policy through the sorts of activities described in this section, as well as taking part in similar activities abroad. The following is a sampling of their recent outside activities.

Paul Kreisberg wrote articles on U.S. policy toward Asia for *Asian Survey*

and on "India after Indira" for *Foreign Affairs*. He represented the Council at the biennial conference of institutes of international affairs held in Vienna and, together with the Deputy Director of the Soviet Institute for World Economy, led the discussion on U.S.-Soviet relations. He spoke on U.S. policy toward China at a Stanley Foundation conference for Congressional staff and on various subjects relating to Asia at conferences in New York, Atlanta and elsewhere.

In addition to finishing his work for Senator Bradley on the GATT Wise-men's report, *Trade Policies for a Better Future: Proposals for Action*, released in March, Michael Aho spoke at several universities and research institutes, including Princeton, the National Bureau for Economic Research, and the C. D. Howe Institute (Canada). He published papers in volumes edited by the Overseas Development Council, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the MacDonald Commission in Canada. He also presided at the Annual Conference of the Cincinnati Council on World Affairs.

Alton Frye continued as co-director of the project on New Approaches to Non-Proliferation (see Washington Program section), and was a member of the project delegation to London and Moscow for talks at the Soviet Academy of Sciences in December. He spoke frequently on arms control issues before groups including the Brookings Institution, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the New York City Bar Association, and the Nashville Committee on Foreign Relations. He also spoke on U.S. foreign policy at the U.S. Congress/Bundestag Project conference in West Germany, and published articles on arms control and strategic policy.

Andrew Pierre testified before the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee. He took part in a conference at the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and at a University of Pittsburgh conference on defense and détente in West Germany. During a USIA-sponsored trip to India, he gave a



Paul H. Kreisberg

number of talks on security issues. He also participated in a conference on American-Asian issues at the Institute of International Relations in Taiwan and attended meetings on U.S. foreign and defense policy in Japan and Thailand.

Susan Kaufman Purcell visited the Soviet Union under the auspices of the Dartmouth Exchange for talks on Central America. She debated U.S. policy toward Cuba on Public Television and discussed Central America on the NBC and ABC evening news. She presented a paper on "The Cuban Factor in Central America" at a conference in Mexico co-sponsored by the International Institute for Strategic Studies and the Colegio de Mexico, and spoke on Central America at the Foreign Policy Association, the Carolinas and Portland World Affairs Councils, and the Miami Congressional Workshop for freshmen congressmen. She also discussed the Latin American debt crisis at *Institutional Investor's* Annual Meeting for Chief Executive Officers and at a

meeting for media people sponsored by the Foundation for American Communications. Her book review essays appeared in *The New York Times* and *The Atlantic*.

Alan Romberg, who joined the staff in late March, was actively involved in programs at the Japan Society, the Asia Society, and Columbia University, and spoke at the Federal Executive Seminar at King's Point on U.S.-Japan relations. In addition to acting as a consultant to the Department of State he published an Op-Ed article in the *Christian Science Monitor* on Sino-Soviet relations.

Helena Stalson was a member of the international governing council of the Society for International Development and chaired the subcommittee on trans-nationals, Committee on Development in consultative status with UN ECOSOC. She is the author of a forthcoming book on international trade in services, and contributed a chapter on U.S. trade policy to *Managing the Service Economy*, edited by Robert P. Inman. She also participated in conferences on U.S.-Canadian investment in services and trade relations, on U.S. business and world hunger, and on international economic development.

Jennifer Whitaker moderated the Borah Foundation Symposium on southern Africa at the University of Idaho, and appeared on Pacific television in connection with the conference. She also served as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow at Regis College in Denver, Colorado. She spoke on southern Africa at the Wilmington World Affairs Council as well as a number of colleges, universities and citizens' groups. In addition, she addressed the Boise Committee on Foreign Relations and lectured at the Brookings Institution. She also participated in a British Parliamentary working group session on African development.

Paul H. Kreisberg  
*Director of Studies*

Janice L. Murray  
*Assistant Director of Studies*

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## The Studies Program

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### Study and Discussion Groups

#### Nuclear Diplomacy

(The meetings were held in Washington, D.C.)

Chairman:	R. James Woolsey, <i>Partner, Shea &amp; Gardner</i>
Directors:	Robert J. Einhorn, <i>International Affairs Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations</i> Alton Frye, <i>Washington Director, Council on Foreign Relations</i>
September 10, 1984:	Strategic Stability and the Evolution of U.S. and Soviet Nuclear Force Structures
Discussion Leader:	Edward L. Warner III, <i>Senior Staff Member, The Rand Corporation</i>
October 22, 1984:	Setting Objectives in Strategic and Intermediate-Range Force Negotiations
Discussion Leader:	Robert J. Einhorn
Commentator:	Jan M. Lodal, <i>President, Infocel, Inc.</i>
December 3, 1984:	Negotiating Leverage and the Strategic Arms Negotiations
Discussion Leader:	Robert J. Einhorn
Commentator:	Strobe Talbott, <i>Diplomatic Correspondent, Time Magazine</i>
January 14, 1985:	Negotiating Strategies and Tactics: Art or Science?
Discussion Leader:	Christopher J. Makins, <i>Director of International Security Programs, Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies</i>
Commentator:	Winston Lord, <i>President, Council on Foreign Relations</i>
February 25, 1985:	Renewed Interest in Ballistic Missile Defense: Implications for Limiting Offensive Systems
Discussion Leader:	Jan M. Lodal
Commentator:	David N. Schwartz, <i>Director, Office of Strategic Nuclear Policy, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Department of State</i>
June 3, 1985:	Compliance Controversies and Their Implications for Approaching Verification in Future Agreements
Discussion Leader:	Michael Krepon, <i>Senior Associate and Director, Verification Project, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</i>
Commentator:	Edward L. Rowny, <i>Special Adviser to the President and Secretary of State for Arms Control Matters</i>

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#### Television News and American Foreign Policy

Chairman:	Victor H. Palmieri, <i>Chairman, Victor Palmieri and Co.</i>
Director:	William Blakemore, <i>Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations</i>
March 15, 1985:	Global Television and Its Challenges for the Foreign Policy Community
Discussion Leaders:	Winston Lord, <i>President, Council on Foreign Relations</i> Howard Stringer, <i>Executive Vice President, CBS News</i>
April 12, 1985:	Television News Coverage of Foreign Affairs
Discussion Leaders:	Tom Brokaw, <i>NBC News Correspondent</i> Peter Jennings, <i>Anchor and Senior Editor, ABC News</i> Anthony Lake, <i>Five College Professor of International Relations, Amherst, Massachusetts, and, formerly, Director, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State</i>



Bill Blakemore, Victor Palmieri, Robin MacNeil and Jody Powell, at study group on TV News and American Foreign Policy

- May 17, 1985: How Television Affects the Formulation and Execution of Foreign Policy: The Case of Iran  
Discussion Leaders: Robin MacNeil, *Executive Editor, MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*  
Jody Powell, *Columnist, Los Angeles Times Syndicate, and, formerly, White House Press Secretary*
- May 31, 1985: Television News and Foreign Affairs: The Issue of Accountability  
Discussion Leaders: Richard Threlkeld, *Chief Correspondent for ABC "World News Tonight"*  
Hodding Carter III, *Main Street Productions, Inc., and, formerly, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs and Department Spokesman*

#### **The Role of International Law in American Foreign Policy**

- Chairman: William D. Rogers, *Partner, Arnold & Porter*  
Director: John Temple Swing, *Vice President, Council on Foreign Relations*
- February 28, 1985: I. The Use of Force in Today's World  
Discussion Leader: Barry M. Blechman, *Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University*
- Discussion Leader: II. Collective Security 40 Years after the U.N. Charter  
Louis Henkin, *Professor of International Law and Diplomacy, Columbia University Law School*
- March 26, 1985: Attempts at Rule-Making between the Two Superpowers  
Discussion Leader: Alexander L. George, *Professor of International Relations, Stanford University*
- April 23, 1985: The Viability of "Third-Party" Dispute Settlement Institutions and Procedures  
Discussion Leaders: Stephen M. Schwebel, *Judge, International Court of Justice, The Hague*  
Ernest A. Gross, *Of Counsel, Curtis Mallet-Prevost Colt & Mosle*

June 13, 1985: What Rules Governing the Use of Force Is the United States Willing to Abide by?  
Discussion Leaders: Louis Henkin  
Oscar Schachter, *Professor of Law, Columbia University Law School*

(Continued from 1983-84.)

## The Future of the World Trading System

### *Steering Committee*

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May 6, 1985:	Problems Facing the United States and the International Business Environment
Discussion Leaders:	C. Michael Aho Geza Feketekuty, <i>Senior Assistant United States Trade Representative</i>
June 17, 1985:	I. International Attitudes Toward Future Trade Negotiations
Discussion Leader:	Geza Feketekuty
	II. Domestic Attitudes Toward a New Trade Round
Discussion Leader:	Edmund T. Pratt, Jr.
	III. Proposed Work Plan for the Project
Discussion Leader:	C. Michael Aho

## International Banking and Foreign Policy

*The Walter Hoeschild Economic Review Meetings*

Author and Chairman:	Benjamin J. Cohen, <i>Whitney H. Shepardson Senior Visiting Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations</i>
December 11, 1984:	Discussions of draft chapters of Benjamin Cohen's manuscript on
April 9, 1985:	<i>High Finance/High Politics: International Banking and Foreign</i>
May 29, 1985:	<i>Policy</i> (William Diebold, Jr., presided at the third meeting.)
June 10, 1985:	Parallel Study Group Meeting in San Francisco on <i>High Finance/High</i>
	<i>Politics</i>
Chairman:	Edward K. Hamilton, <i>Partner, Hamilton, Rabinovitz &amp; Szanton</i>

## Issues Facing the United States in Central America

(Continued from 1983-84.)

Chairman:	Edward K. Hamilton, <i>Partner, Hamilton, Rabinovitz &amp; Szanton</i>
Director:	Susan Kaufman Purcell, <i>Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations</i>
January 7, 1985:	Regional Security Issues
Discussion Leader:	Nestor Sanchez, <i>Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Inter-American Affairs</i>
Commentators:	Caesar Sereseres, <i>University of California (Irvine), and the Rand Corporation</i> Robert White, <i>formerly, United States Ambassador to El Salvador</i> Colonel John D. Waghelstein, <i>USA, Analyst, Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College</i>
May 16, 1985:	A Mexican Perspective on the Regional Crisis
Acting Chairman:	Susan Kaufman Purcell
Discussion Leader:	Manuel Camacho, <i>Undersecretary of Programming and Budget, Government of Mexico</i>
Commentator:	Rodman Rockefeller, <i>Chairman, Pocantico Development Associates</i>

## United States Relations with the Advanced Developing Countries of Latin America

(Continued from 1983-84.)

Chairman: C. Fred Bergsten, *Director, The Institute for International Economics*  
 Director: Susan Kaufman Purcell, *Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations*  
 October 24, 1984: The Case of Brazil  
 Discussion Leader: Riordan Roett, *Director of Latin American Studies and Center for Brazilian Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University*  
 Commentators: Persio Arida, *Professor of Economics, Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro; Fellow, The Woodrow Wilson Center*  
 Peter Knight, *Senior Economist, Brazil Division, The World Bank*

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## The Studies Program

December 5, 1984: The Case of Mexico  
Discussion Leader: Guy Erb, *President, GFE, Ltd.*  
Commentators: Lorenzo Meyer, *Professor of International Relations, El Colegio de Mexico, and Fellow, The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*  
Luis Szekely, *International Consultant*

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### Latin American Project Breakfast Seminars

January 22, 1985: The Brazilian Presidential Elections  
Amaury de Souza, *Political Scientist, Instituto Universitario de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro*  
Riordan Roett, *Director of Latin American Studies and Center for Brazilian Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University*

February 19, 1985: What to Expect from the New Civilian Government of Tancredo Neves  
Jose Aparecido de Oliveira, *Federal Deputy, Minas Gerais, and Secretary of Culture, Minas Gerais, Brazil*

March 5, 1985: Political Challenges to Mexico's Ruling Party  
Patrick Oster, *Correspondent, Knight-Ridder Newspapers*

March 12, 1985: The Political Situation in Chile  
Genaro Arriagada, *Chairman of the Board, Radio Cooperativa, Chile*

April 26, 1985: Prospects for Democracy in Brazil  
Diego C. Asencio, *United States Ambassador to Brazil*

May 15, 1985: Prospects for Central America  
Carlos Manuel Castillo, *formerly, Vice President of Costa Rica*

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### European-American Project

Advisory Group  
Chairman: Cyrus R. Vance, *formerly, Secretary of State*  
Vice Chairman: Robert D. Hormats, *Vice President, International Corporate Finance, Goldman, Sachs & Company*  
Director: Andrew J. Pierre, *Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations*

September 27, 1984: Review meeting on Central America volume

January 24, 1985: Planning meeting for volume on social, cultural and generational change

March 22, 1985: Members' Conference on "Central America as a European-American Issue"

April 17, 1985: Planning meeting for volume on conventional defense in Europe

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### The John J. McCloy Study Group on Eastern Europe "In Between"

(The fifth meeting was held in Washington, D.C.)

Chairman: Graham T. Allison, Jr., *Dean, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University*

Directors: Warren Zimmermann, *Council on Foreign Relations—Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Visiting Fellow*  
Karen L. Dawisha, *Visiting Associate Professor of Politics, Princeton University*

January 10, 1985: Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union  
Discussion Leader: Karen L. Dawisha  
Commentator: Charles Wolf, Jr., *Dean, Rand Graduate Institute*

February 6, 1985: Eastern Europe and Western Europe  
 Acting Chairman: Warren Zimmermann  
 Discussion Leader: F. Stephen Larrabee, *Vice President and Director of of Studies, The Institute for East-West Security Studies*  
 Commentator: William E. Griffith, *Professor of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

March 6, 1985: The German Democratic Republic and Its Foreign Policy  
 Discussion Leaders: Michael J. Sodaro, *Associate Professor of International Affairs and Political Science, George Washington University*  
 Ronald D. Asmus, *Senior Analyst for German Affairs, Radio Free Europe*  
 Commentator: Herbert Okun, *Ambassador-in-Residence, Aspen Institute*

April 2, 1985: Prospects for Change in Eastern Europe  
 Discussion Leader: Charles Gati, *Professor of Political Science, Columbia University and Union College*  
 Commentator: J. Michael Montias, *Professor of Economics, Yale University*

April 25, 1985: U.S. Policy Options Toward Eastern Europe  
 Discussion Leader: Lincoln Gordon, *Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution*  
 Commentator: Mark Palmer, *Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs*

#### **Jordan**

Chairman: Olin C. Robison, *President, Middlebury College*  
 Director: Arthur R. Day, *Senior Consultant, UN Association of the USA*

December 6, 1984: Overview of Developments in Jordan  
 Discussion Leader: Adnan Abu Odeh, *Minister of the Royal Court, Amman*

January 9, 1985: The Armed Forces and the Military/Security Situation of Jordan  
 Discussion Leader: General Abdul Hadi Majali, *formerly, Chief of Staff of the Jordanian Army and, formerly, Ambassador to Washington*

February 5, 1985: The Jordanian Political System  
 Discussion Leader: Zaid Al-Rifa'i, *formerly, Prime Minister of Jordan, and Vice President of the Jordanian Senate*

April 8, 1985: The Economic Situation in Jordan and the West Bank  
 Acting Chairman: J. C. Hurewitz, *Professor of Government, Columbia University*  
 Discussion Leaders: Paul Jabber, *Vice President for International Economics, Bankers Trust Company*  
 Vivian Bull, *Associate Professor of Economics, Drew University*

April 22, 1985: I. Internal Strains and Pressures  
 II. The Palestinian Question as a Domestic and International Issue  
 Acting Chairman: J. C. Hurewitz  
 Discussion Leader: Rami Khouri, *Senior Editor, Jordan Times*

#### **Arab Radicalism**

Chairman: Charles Issawi, *Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University*  
 Director: Adeed Dawisha, *Consulting Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations*

December 12, 1984: I. Libya  
 Discussion Leader: Lisa Anderson, *Assistant Professor of Government, Harvard University*  
 II. Algeria  
 Discussion Leader: John Entelis, *Professor of Political Science, Fordham University*  
 Commentator: I. William Zartman, *Director of African Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University*

## The Studies Program



*Study group on Arab Radicalism*

January 29, 1985:	The Amal Movement
Discussion Leader:	Samir Khalaf, <i>Professor of Sociology, American University of Beirut</i>
Commentator:	Lt. Col. Augustus Richard Norton, USA, <i>Associate Professor, Department of Social Sciences, United States Military Academy</i>
February 27, 1985:	South Yemen
Discussion Leaders:	John Duke Anthony, <i>President, National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations</i> Norman Cigar, <i>Intelligence Research Specialist for Headquarters, Department of the Army, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence</i>
March 28, 1985:	The Palestine Liberation Organization
Discussion Leaders:	Rashid Khalidi, <i>Fellow, The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars</i> Aaron David Miller, <i>Member, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State</i>
May 1, 1985:	Syria
Discussion Leaders:	Kamal Beyoghlu, <i>Visiting Scholar, Survey Research Center, University of California at Berkeley</i> James Piscatori, <i>International Affairs Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations</i>

### Labor Issues in U.S.-Japan Relations

Chairman:	James D. Hodgson, <i>formerly, United States Ambassador to Japan</i>
Director:	Robert Immerman, <i>Visiting Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations</i>
February 7, 1985:	Recent Developments in the U.S. and Japanese Labor Movements
Discussion Leaders:	Tadashi Hanami, <i>Visiting Professor of Law, Harvard University</i> Harry Katz, <i>Associate Professor of Management, Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Thomas A. Kochan, <i>Professor of Industrial Relations, Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology</i> Herbert Passin, <i>Professor of Sociology, Columbia University</i>

March 18, 1985: The Influence of Labor Unions on Domestic Politics and International Affairs  
 Discussion Leaders: Peter Perl, *Reporter on Labor Affairs, The Washington Post*  
 Morris Weisz, *Consultant, International Labor Industrial Relations, and, formerly, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor*

April 4, 1985: Attitudes of Organized Labor in Japan and the United States Toward Foreign Trade and Overseas Investment  
 Discussion Leader: Brian Turner, *Director of Legislation and Economic Policy, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO*

May 2, 1985: Labor Relations in U.S. Facilities of Japanese Companies  
 Discussion Leader: Duane Kujawa, *Professor of International Business and Director, International Business and Banking Institute, University of Miami*

June 6, 1985: The Impact of Labor Unions on the U.S.-Japan Relationship  
 Discussion Leaders: Robert Immerman  
 Richard W. Petree, *President, U.S.-Japan Foundation*  
 Commentator: Jackson N. Huddleston, Jr., *Huddleston Associates*

#### **Ad Hoc Study Group on China**

(The meeting was held in Washington, D.C.)

Chairman: Richard H. Solomon, *Head of the Political Science Department and Director, International Security Policy Research Program, The Rand Corporation*

Director: Paul H. Kreisberg, *Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations*

March 13, 1985: Recent Changes in China: The Implications for China and the Rest of the World  
 Discussion Leader: Michel Oksenberg, *Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan*

#### **Ad Hoc Discussion Group on Issues in United States-Japan Relations**

Chairman: Richard L. Sneider, *Adjunct Professor, East Asia Institute, Columbia University*

Director: Alan Romberg, *Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations*

May 29, 1985: The Effect of Present Tensions on the Future Course of the Relationship  
 Discussion Leader: Ezra Vogel, *Professor of Sociology, Chairman, Department of East Asian Studies, and Director, U.S.-Japan Program, Harvard University*

Commentator: Harald B. Malmgren, *President, Malmgren, Inc.*

#### **Study Discussion Meeting on Recent Developments on the Korean Peninsula**

(The meeting was held in Washington, D.C.)

Chairman: Richard C. Holbrooke, *Vice President, Public Strategies, Inc.*

Director: Paul H. Kreisberg, *Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations*

March 11, 1985: The Impact of Developments on the Peninsula for South Korea and U.S. Policy Toward the Region  
 Discussion Leader: Ralph N. Clough, *Research Associate, Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute, School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University*

## The Studies Program

### Committee on African Development Strategies

(Co-sponsored by the Council and the Overseas Development Council)  
(The first, third, fifth, and sixth meetings were held in Washington, D.C.)

Chairmen:	Lawrence S. Eagleburger, <i>President, Kissinger Associates, and, formerly, Under Secretary of State</i> Donald F. McHenry, <i>University Research Professor of Diplomacy and International Affairs, Georgetown University, and, formerly, United States Ambassador to the United Nations</i>
Directors:	Jennifer Seymour Whitaker, <i>Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations</i> Robert J. Berg, <i>Senior Fellow, Overseas Development Council</i>
September 17, 1984:	I. U.S. Interests in Africa
Discussion Leader:	Chester A. Crocker, <i>Assistant Secretary of State for Africa</i>
	II. Trade and Development Issues for Africa
Discussion Leader:	Stephen R. Lewis, <i>Professor of Economics, Williams College</i>
Commentator:	Benno N'dulu, <i>Chairman, Department of Economics, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania</i>
	III. Foreign Aid in Africa
Discussion Leader:	Robert J. Berg
Commentator:	Harris Mule, <i>Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Kenya</i>
October 23, 1984:	I. Africa's Economic Management Problems: The Historical and Social Context
Discussion Leaders:	Crawford Young, <i>Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin</i> Goran Hyden, <i>Representative for Eastern and Southern Africa, The Ford Foundation, Nairobi</i>
Commentator:	Ntalaja Nzongola, <i>Professor of African Studies, Howard University</i>
	II. The Role of the State in Economic Management
Discussion Leaders:	Elliot Berg, <i>Consulting Economist</i> Ali Mazrui, <i>Research Professor, University of Jos, Nigeria, and Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan</i>
November 29, 1984:	Population, Health and Environmental Issues
	I. African Resource Management
Discussion Leaders:	Leonard Berry, <i>Provost, Clark University</i> Mustafa Khogali, <i>Professor of Geography, University of Khartoum</i>
Commentator:	William Clark, <i>President, International Institute of Environment and Development, London</i>
	II. Population, Health and Nutrition Issues
Discussion Leader:	Fred Sai, <i>Senior World Bank Advisor-designate on Population</i>
Commentators:	Davidson Gwatkin, <i>Senior Fellow, Overseas Development Council</i> David Hamburg, <i>President, Carnegie Corporation of New York</i>
	III. The Current Drought and Institutional Inadequacies
Discussion Leader:	Howard Wolpe, <i>United States Representative (D., Michigan)</i>
January 17, 1985:	Agriculture in Africa
	I. Agricultural Policy Issues
Discussion Leader:	Bruce Johnston, <i>Food Research Institute, Stanford University</i>
Commentator:	Moise Mensah, <i>International Fund for Agricultural Development, Rome</i>
	II. Rural Development Issues
Discussion Leader:	David Leonard, <i>Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley</i>
Commentator:	Uma Lele, <i>Division Chief, Development Strategy Department, The World Bank</i>

III. Agricultural Research  
 Discussion Leader: Dunstan Spencer, *International Crops Research Institute in the Semi-Arid Tropics, Niamey*  
 Commentator: Carl Eicher, *Professor of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University*

February 13, 1985: I. Education and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa  
 Discussion Leader: David Court, *Regional Representative, Rockefeller Foundation, Nairobi*  
 Commentator: Akilu Habte, *Director, Education and Training Department, The World Bank*

II. Human Resource Development  
 Discussion Leader: Kenneth King, *University of Edinburgh*  
 Commentator: Mary Jean Bowman, *Education Consultant*

III. The Role of Women in African Economic Development  
 Discussion Leader: Jane Guyer, *Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Harvard University*  
 Commentator: Olubanke Akerele, *Senior Program Management, United Nations Development Fund for Women*

June 25, 1985: Discussion of Draft Report of the Committee

#### Authors' Review Meetings

September 12, 1984: "U.S.-Cuban Relations"  
 Presider: James T. Lynn, *Partner, Jones Day Reavis & Pogue*  
 Author: Susan Kaufman Purcell, *Senior Fellow and Director, Latin American Program, Council on Foreign Relations*

December 5, 1984: "A New Source of Canadian-American Friction?"  
 Author and Presider: William Diebold, Jr.

April 18, 1985: "Effects of Foreign Government Policies on U.S. International Competitiveness in Services"  
 Presider: Paul H. Kreisberg, *Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations*  
 Author: Helena Stalson, *Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations*

June 24, 1985: "Egypt"  
 Presider: Paul H. Kreisberg  
 Author: Delwin A. Roy, *Chief Executive Officer, Development Decisions International*

#### Conferences and Symposia

November 15-18, 1984: Assembly on Canada and the United States (Arden House, Harri-man, New York)—co-sponsored by the Council and the American Assembly

February 6, 1985: Symposium on Expanding Technology Transfer between the United States and Japan (New York)—co-sponsored by the Council and the Japan Society

April 10-11, 1985: Military Study Trip (Washington, D.C.)

May 10-12, 1985: African-American Conference at Bellagio (Bellagio, Italy)—co-sponsored by the Council and the Overseas Development Council

#### Studies Program Seminars

August 1, 1984: Foreign Ministry Officials from Nine African Countries  
 "The American Foreign Policy-Making Process and Issues of Particular Concern to Africa"

## The Studies Program

September 28, 1984	North Atlantic Assembly Subcommittee on the Successor Generation I. "Atlantic Political and Security Relations" II. "Atlantic Economic Conditions"
October 5, 1984	Members of the Tufts University/U.S.I.A. Seminar on Decision-Making in U.S. Foreign Policy I. "The Evolution of U.S. Policy toward the Soviet Union" II. "The Election Process and U.S. Foreign Policy"
October 16, 1984	Ten Chinese Scholars "Foreign Policy-Making in the United States"
October 16, 1984	Richard B. Parker, <i>Editor, The Middle East Journal; formerly, United States Ambassador to Algeria and Morocco</i> "North Africa: Regional Tensions and Strategic Concerns" (Meeting on the publication of Ambassador Parker's book on North Africa)
October 19, 1984	Nine Participants in the U.S.I.A. European Regional Project "The United States and European Security"
October 26, 1984	Zhang Zai, <i>Minister-Counsellor of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the United States</i> "Potential Problems in United States-China Relations"
October 31, 1984	Adrian Cristobal, <i>Special Assistant to President Marcos</i> "Developments in the Philippines"
October 31, 1984	Mohamed Izz El Din Abdel Monim, <i>First Secretary, Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs</i> , and ten Egyptian Diplomats-in-training Richard H. Nolte, <i>Director, Near East Institute</i> "The United States and the Middle East"
November 14, 1984 (Washington, D.C.)	Michael Krepon, <i>Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</i> "Breaking the Deadlock over Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control" (Press conference and meeting on the publication of Mr. Krepon's book, <i>Strategic Stalemate: Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control in American Politics</i> )
December 3, 1984	Warren Zimmermann, <i>Council on Foreign Relations—Carnegie Endowment Visiting Fellow</i> "Western European Attitudes toward Eastern Europe"
December 13, 1984	Jose Concepcion, Jr., <i>Chairman, National Citizens Movement for Free Elections, The Philippines</i> "The Philippines and the United States"
January 7, 1985	Robert Einhorn, <i>International Affairs Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations</i> Stephen Hadley, <i>Partner, Shea and Gardner</i> "Prospects for Arms Negotiations"
January 15, 1985	Aquilino Pimentel, Jr., <i>Chairman, Philippine Democratic Party-Laban</i> ; Walter J. Levy <i>Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations</i> "Prospects for Democracy in the Philippines"
January 18, 1985	Electoral Process Group from the Philippines Rufino Eduardo N. Abad, <i>Manager, Project Monitoring and Supervision Department/Project Management Group, Private Development Corporation of the Philippines</i> Rodolfo Albano, <i>Member, National Assembly</i> Mariano Quesada, <i>President, Trimai Management; Secretary-General, National Citizens Movement for Free Elections</i> Alberto Romulo, <i>Member, National Assembly</i>



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	Monsignor Francisco G. Tantoco, Jr., <i>Executive Council Member, National Citizens Movement for Free Elections</i> "How Foreign Policy Issues Affect U.S. Elections"
January 23, 1985 (Washington, D.C.)	Studies Program Luncheon Aquilino Pimentel, Jr., <i>Chairman, Philippine Democratic Party-Laban, and Walter J. Levy Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations</i> "Prospects for Democracy in the Philippines"
February 12, 1985	Takuhiko Nakamura, <i>President, Japanese National Steel Workers Federation and Japan Council of Metal Workers Unions</i> "Recent Developments in the Japanese Labor Movement"
February 28, 1985	Delegation Members of the Japan-U.S. Parliamentarians League Tokusaburo Kosaka, <i>Member, House of Representatives</i> Roo Watanabe, <i>Member, House of Representatives</i> Hideo Den, <i>Member, House of Councillors</i> Ichiji Ishii, <i>Member, House of Councillors</i> "Issues of Concern in U.S.-Japan Relations"
March 11, 1985	16 Students from the Federal Executive Institute Foreign Policy/ National Security Seminar "Future Issues Facing the United States in: I. International Trade II. Latin America III. European-American Relations"
March 18, 1985	Army War College Students and Faculty I. "East-West Relations and Arms Control" II. "International Economic Problems and Prospects"
March 25, 1985	Six Japanese Members of the Study Group in Improved U.S.-Japan Communication and Understanding "U.S.-Japan Trade and Economic Relations"
April 2, 1985	M. B. Kumalo, <i>Senior Lecturer, Vista University, South Africa</i> Mxolisi Mgojo, <i>Computer Analyst, Sperry Rand, South Africa</i> "South Africa: Why Disinvestment Is Not a Good Idea"
April 19, 1985	11 European Journalists "Current Issues in Arms Control"
April 30, 1985	Salvador Lopez, <i>formerly, Foreign Minister of the Philippines, Ambassador to the United Nations, and Ambassador to the United States</i> "Prospects for Peace and Democracy in the Philippines"
May 3, 1985	Hosni Shiyab, <i>Professor of Political Science, University of Jordan</i> "U.S.-Jordanian Relations"
June 3, 1985	Hungarian Delegation to the U.S.-Hungarian Roundtable "The East-West Economic Relationship"
June 4, 1985	M. Michel Rocard, <i>formerly, Minister of Agriculture of France</i> "Agricultural Issues in Europe and with the United States"
June 24, 1985	Jonathan Aronson, <i>Associate Professor of International Relations, University of Southern California</i> "Telecommunications Policy Developments in Fourteen Countries"
June 24, 1985 (Washington, D.C.)	Michael S. Teitelbaum, <i>Program Officer, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation</i> Diego C. Asencio, <i>United States Ambassador to Brazil</i> Susan Kaufman Purcell, <i>Director, Latin American Program, Council on Foreign Relations</i> "Immigration from Latin America as a U.S. Foreign Policy Issue" (Special meeting on the publication of <i>Latin Migration North</i> , by Mr. Teitelbaum)

## The Studies Program

### New Publications 1984-85

- American Hostages in Iran: The Conduct of a Crisis*, by Warren Christopher *et al.* (Yale University Press, 1985). Cloth.
- Canada and the United States: Enduring Friendship, Persistent Stress*, edited by Charles F. Doran and John H. Sigler (Prentice-Hall, 1985). Cloth and paperback.
- Arms and the African: Military Influences on Africa's International Relations*, edited by William J. Foltz and Henry S. Bienen (Yale University Press, 1985). Cloth.
- A Changing Israel*, by Peter Grose (Vintage/Random House, 1985). Paperback.
- Technological Frontiers and Foreign Relations*, edited by Anne G. Keatley (National Academy Press, 1985). Paperback.
- Strategic Stalemate: Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control in American Politics*, by Michael Krepon (St. Martin's Press, 1985). Cloth.
- North Africa: Regional Tensions and Strategic Concerns*, by Richard B. Parker (Praeger, 1984). Cloth.
- Third World Instability: Central America as a European-American Issue*, edited by Andrew J. Pierre (Council on Foreign Relations, 1985). Paperback.
- Latin Migration North: The Problem for U.S. Foreign Policy*, by Michael S. Teitelbaum (Council on Foreign Relations, 1985). Paperback.
- Soviet Policy in Eastern Europe*, edited by Sarah Meiklejohn Terry (Yale University Press, 1984). Cloth and paperback.
- Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa*, by I. William Zartman (Oxford University Press, 1985). Cloth.
- Prospects for Peace in the Middle East: The View from Israel*. Foreword by Cyrus R. Vance (Council on Foreign Relations, 1985). Conference Transcript.
- India and the United States: A Report on a Dialogue between the Council on Foreign Relations and a group of distinguished Indians under the auspices of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations* (Council on Foreign Relations, 1985). Paperback.

## The Washington Program

**T**here is no Harold Pratt House in Washington, but there is a strong and varied community of Council members. Lacking the unique ambience of the Council's home base, members have nonetheless replicated the special character of Council deliberations in the continuing program of activities in Washington. For eight years now, leaders in and out of government have assembled with some frequency to take part in a highly selective series of events organized in the nation's capital.

The Council program offers a forum in Washington not only for members resident in the area, but for the many members from other parts of the nation who have occasion to be there. From its inception the ambition of the Council in Washington has been to engage more members in the life of the organization, both by providing significant meetings centered on the second largest pool of Council members and by spurring participants to participate in the larger program conducted in New York. In both locales Council sessions afford the opportunity for encounters with people from diverse professions and roles, sharing a commitment to informed foreign policy for the United States.

The 1984-85 season saw forty-six events in the Washington program, together with an assortment of other activities jointly arranged by the Council. As in previous years there were a dozen general meetings. Six roundtable dinners and two roundtable luncheons afforded opportunities for more intimate discussions. Past and current fellows of the Council assembled for three events under the sponsorship of the International Affairs Fellowship program, extending a pattern of meetings that have become familiar gathering places for a valued component of the Council's wider circle. Numerous special seminars complemented the Council's study program, which conducted nine meetings of ongoing groups dealing at greater length with several topics. The Corporate program held an all-day conference in Wash-

ington, as it has done with some regularity in recent years (see pp. 112-13).

The year's inaugural program set a high standard for the events to come. In a memorable performance, Senator Howard Baker reflected on his lengthy involvement in foreign policy as he neared the conclusion of service as Majority Leader. The Senator's blend of pragmatic problem-solving and constitutional philosophy pointed up the need—and the possibility—of effective collaboration between the political parties and the branches of government. With Secretary of State Shultz in attendance and Peter Peterson presiding, the meeting was a highlight in the Council's continuing exploration of the central issues in legislative-executive relations. Later in the year, Senator David Durenberger probed other aspects of the congressional role in foreign policy, focusing on challenges to legislative oversight of the intelligence operations of government—and particularly on the controversy surrounding proposed assistance to the so-called "contras" in Nicaragua.

Relations between the superpowers remained a preoccupation here, as in most treatments of present-day interna-



*Alton Frye and R. James Woolsey, Nuclear Diplomacy study group*

## The Washington Program



Arturo José Cruz

tional affairs. *Time's* diplomatic correspondent, Strobe Talbott, offered a trenchant and measured assessment of recent Soviet-American diplomacy, taking his themes from the extensive research presented in his notable book, *Deadly Gambits*. The analysis extended and refined the briefer evaluation published by the Council in *The Russians and Reagan*. Counterpoint to Mr. Talbott's presentation came in a general meeting with Assistant Secretary of State Richard Burt who looked ahead to issues of alliance management and negotiations with Moscow in the second Reagan Administration. Mr. Talbott also joined with Dimitri Simes in a luncheon discussion of Mikhail Gorbachev's accession to power in the Soviet Union. A related session assembled members for an exchange with Kinya Niiseki, President of the Japan Institute of International Affairs, who drew on long service as Ambassador to Moscow to assess the implications for Japanese-American relations of recent Soviet policy toward Asia and the Pacific region.

Two unusually perceptive discussions attempted to move beyond immediate

problems of American foreign policy to frame long-term, philosophical approaches to enduring questions. Charles William Maynes, editor of *Foreign Policy*, examined the perplexing problem of what pragmatism really means for contemporary practitioners of foreign policy. Rooting his remarks in a rich historical context, Mr. Maynes began a process of tracing out relevant standards for molding the traditions of American diplomacy with the greatly altered circumstances of the late twentieth century. In a similar vein, Michael Novak carried forward our recurrent discussion of ethical problems in international politics by considering the place of such issues in an American political campaign. Ranging widely over the subject on the eve of the presidential election, he confessed surprise that it had proven more diffuse and less weighty in the campaign than he had anticipated earlier in the year.

Regional topics claimed much attention. Elections in Nicaragua were taking place within days of our own; Ambassador Arturo Cruz, former member of the governing junta in Managua and a frequently mentioned presidential possibility in his country, spoke of the prospects for settling the prolonged turmoil there. Some months later, discussion turned to the hopeful initiative of Jordan's King Hussein to revive the peace process in the Middle East, as Minister Adnan Abu Odeh met with members to preview elements in the Jordanian-Palestinian proposals in advance of the King's visit to Washington. On another critical front, two prominent Americans addressed back-to-back general meetings about the economic and political crises afflicting Africa, with Lester Brown portraying the grim famine mounting in the continent and Chairman Howard Wolpe of the House Subcommittee on Africa setting forth the case for major change in U.S. policy toward South Africa.

Quite a different occasion paired leading figures in recent American policy toward China. Fredrick Chien, former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs for the

Republic of China, shared the platform with Richard Holbrooke, Assistant Secretary of State at the time of normalization of relations with the Peoples' Republic of China. Dr. Chien, now representing the Coordination Council for North American Affairs in the United States, and Mr. Holbrooke found much common ground in stressing the continued importance of Taiwan in the unfolding realignment of relations throughout the Pacific area.

Concern over global environmental problems was the focus of two contrasting presentations. Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Ruckelshaus concluded his second tour of duty in that office by reviewing for Council members a number of confounding difficulties emerging in international management of such problems. And Professor Carl Sagan of Cornell University, a principal author of studies projecting environmental catastrophe from widespread

detonation of nuclear weapons, dealt with subsequent research and critiques of the "nuclear winter" phenomena.

Two Council books received "coming-out" parties in Washington. General Andrew Goodpaster hosted a presentation by author Michael Krepon to launch his new volume, *Strategic Stalemate*, with parallel prefaces by Brent Scowcroft and Paul Warnke. A similar session featured author Michael Teitelbaum, together with Ambassador Diego Asencio and Susan Kaufman Purcell, in a summary of major themes from *Latin Migration North*.

Europe claimed center stage for many hours in Council proceedings. The Director-General for Economic Affairs of the Italian Foreign Ministry, Renato Ruggero, dealt with pressing decisions for the European Economic Community, and Claus Koehler of the Deutsche Bundesbank focused on economic policy options for the Federal Republic of Germany. From these initial meetings there evolved a continuing seminar series, chaired by Robert Bowie, to address the implications for the United States of Europe's continuing evolution. Opening presentations by J. Robert Schaetzel and Joseph Greenwald were supplemented by an early dialogue between Belgian Ambassador Raoul Schoumaker and the State Department's Director-General-Designate of the Foreign Service, George Vest, just returned from several years as Ambassador to the EEC.

Among the highlights of the year were two activities of an unusual nature for the Council. We joined with the International Studies Association to conduct a significant panel discussion involving several former National Security Advisers. Under the dual chairmanship of Winston Lord and Lawrence Eagleburger, a lively exchange proceeded with Zbigniew Brzezinski, Walt Rostow and Brent Scowcroft. A second venture of more protracted duration approached its conclusion during the year, as the New Approaches to Non-Proliferation Project conducted its principal conference, bring-



David F. Durenberger

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## The Washington Program

ing to Washington members of a companion panel studying the subject in Europe under the chairmanship of Johan Holst. The Council has been facilitating the project's work for two years. Chaired by Gerard Smith and co-directed by Robert Schaetzel and Alton Frye, the project expects to publish both its report and the findings of the European panel in the next few months.

In a program of modest scale, there remain important areas which have not been covered, but the year marked some progress in the diversity of discussions. We made headway in increasing the participation of foreign speakers in Washington, with nine such participants playing important roles in one or another event this year. In the upcoming season, we hope to see a number of significant foreign visitors join Council sessions here, as they regularly do in New York.

Topically, we are encouraged at the clear interest members display in fresh examination of the long-standing relationship between Europe and the United States. We plan to concentrate further sessions on this, as well as on the national security issues which have loomed large in the Council's Washington program from the outset. As always, the goal will be to vary and to balance issues, participants and formats in ways calculated to engage the interests and talents of many members.

The wholesome collaboration with our sister institution, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, remains a pillar of the Council's program in Washington. The congenial and accessible quarters of the Endowment's conference center are a valued element in the program's success, and the ready cooperation of the Endowment's president, Thomas Hughes, has made it possible for the Council to build a robust endeavor on issues of mutual concern to both organizations.

After half a century the Council decided that its program should go forward in Washington, as well as in New York. Historically, physically, psychologically

and sociologically, the Council's place in Washington is very different from its situation in New York. Yet, scant years into the Washington program, there seems broad consensus that in order to thrive, the Council community must live in the nation's political capital as well as in its financial capital. Council members are likely to be skeptical of any notion of a Council "mission," but in important respects we are missionaries to ourselves. We aspire to build a community of discourse whose members, whatever their persuasion and wherever they may serve, are better equipped to contribute informed judgment through the myriad channels in which our nation's foreign policy takes shape. In Washington perhaps most of all, that is a "mission" worthy of the Council.

Alton Frye  
*Washington Director*

## Washington Meetings: 1984-85

### *Speaker and Topic*

HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.  
*Majority Leader, United States Senate*  
"Congress and Foreign Policy: Lessons from  
Three Terms"

KINYA NIISEKI  
*President, The Japan Institute of International Affairs;*  
*Former Ambassador of Japan to the Soviet Union*  
"Soviet Policy Towards the Asia-Pacific Region and Its  
Implications for the Japanese-American Alliance"

STROBE TALBOTT  
*Diplomatic Correspondent, Time Magazine*  
"Nuclear Arms Control Under President Reagan:  
The American Conduct of INF and START"

MICHAEL NOVAK  
*Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for  
Public Policy Research*  
"International Ethics and Campaign Politics:  
A Comparative Assessment"

### *Presider, Date and Type of Meeting*

Peter G. Peterson  
September 19, 1984  
General Meeting, Roundtable  
Dinner

James H. Billington  
September 26, 1984  
Roundtable Luncheon

Amos A. Jordan  
October 15, 1984  
General Meeting, Roundtable  
Dinner

Douglas J. Bennet, Jr.  
October 30, 1984  
General Meeting



*Howard H. Baker, Jr., Peter G. Peterson and Alton Frye*

## The Washington Program

### *Speaker and Topic*

ARTURO JOSÉ CRUZ  
*Former Ambassador of Nicaragua to the United States;  
 Former Member of the Junta of the Government of  
 National Reconstruction*  
 "Nicaragua After the Elections"

WILLIAM D. RUCKELSHAUS  
*Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency*  
 "Current Issues in International Environmental Policy"

RICHARD R. BURT  
*Assistant Secretary of State for European and  
 Canadian Affairs*  
 "The Next Phase in American Foreign Policy"

CHARLES WILLIAM MAYNES  
*Editor, Foreign Policy*  
 "A Modern Foreign Policy for America: What Is  
 the Meaning of Pragmatism?"

FREDRICK F. CHIEN  
*Representative, Coordination Council for North  
 American Affairs Office in the USA*

RICHARD C. HOLBROOKE  
*Vice President, Public Strategies; Senior Advisor,  
 Shearson Lehman/American Express Inc.*  
 "Taiwan and East Asia: Comparing Notes"

LESTER R. BROWN  
*President, Worldwatch Institute*  
 "Africa's Deepening Food Crisis"

HOWARD WOLPE  
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Africa, House  
 Committee on Foreign Affairs*  
 "The United States and South Africa: The Other Issues"

DAVID F. DURENBERGER  
*Chairman, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence*  
 "Congress and Foreign Policy: Keeping the Balance"

ADNAN ABU ODEH  
*Minister of the Royal Court, Hashemite Kingdom  
 of Jordan*  
 "The Jordanian-Palestinian Initiative"

CARL SAGAN  
*David Duncan Professor of Astronomy and Space  
 Sciences; Director of the Laboratory for Planetary  
 Studies, Cornell University*  
 "Nuclear Winter: So What?"

### *Presider, Date and Type of Meeting*

Gale W. McGee  
 November 19, 1984  
 General Meeting

Frank Press  
 November 27, 1984  
 General Meeting

Stephen J. Solarz  
 December 5, 1984  
 General Meeting, Roundtable  
 Dinner

William P. Bundy  
 January 16, 1985  
 General Meeting, Roundtable  
 Dinner

A. Doak Barnett  
 February 26, 1985  
 General Meeting, Roundtable  
 Dinner

Chester L. Cooper  
 March 6, 1985  
 General Meeting

Stephen Low  
 March 21, 1985  
 General Meeting

William G. Hyland  
 April 24, 1985  
 General Meeting, Roundtable  
 Dinner

L. Dean Brown  
 May 7, 1985  
 Roundtable Luncheon

Ivan Selin  
 May 13, 1985  
 General Meeting



<i>Speaker and Topic</i>	<i>Presider, Date and Type of Meeting</i>
<b>IAF Meetings/Receptions Held in Washington: 1984-85</b>	
JOHN DUKE ANTHONY <i>President, National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations</i> "American Security Interests and Involvement in the Persian Gulf: Implications for Policies and Actions"	John Temple Swing October 24, 1984 Meeting/Reception
WILLIAM BLAKEMORE <i>Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations</i> "Pope John Paul's Global Politics with a Side Glance at the Nature of His Charisma and What He Really Teaches about Sex"	John Temple Swing April 18, 1985 Meeting/Reception
DIMITRI K. SIMES <i>Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</i> STROBE TALBOTT <i>Washington Bureau Chief, Time Magazine</i> "The Accession of Gorbachev and Prospects for U.S.-Soviet Relations"	Alton Frye April 19, 1985 IAF Luncheon
<b>Miscellaneous Meetings Held in Washington: 1984-85</b>	
RENATO RUGGIERO <i>Director-General for Economic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Italy</i> "1985: Year of Europe's Choices"	Henry Owen September 21, 1984 Special Seminar
PETER LUDLOW <i>Director, Centre for European Policy Studies, Brussels</i> "Whither Europe?"	J. Robert Schaetzel September 24, 1984 Special Seminar
WILLIAM E. JACKSON, JR. <i>Senior Fellow, Fulbright Institute of International Relations, University of Arkansas</i> "Kremlin Politics and U.S.-Soviet Relations"	Robert G. Kaiser October 18, 1984 General Meeting
MICHAEL KREPON <i>Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace</i> "Breaking the Deadlock over Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control"	Andrew J. Goodpaster November 14, 1984 Press Conference and Meeting
CLAUS KOEHLER <i>Member of the Directorate and Central Bank Council of the Deutsche Bundesbank</i> "German Economic Policy and International Interdependence"	Bruce K. MacLaury December 4, 1984 Special Seminar

## The Washington Program

<i>Speaker and Topic</i>	<i>Presider, Date and Type of Meeting</i>
New Approaches to Non-Proliferation Project, Joint Meetings of U.S. and European Panels	Gerald C. Smith December 13-15, 1984
ELIZA R. PATTERSON <i>International Affairs Fellow</i> "Non-Market Economies in the GATT"	William Diebold, Jr. January 8, 1985 Author's Review Group
AQUILINO PIMENTEL, JR. <i>Chairman, Philippine Democratic Party-Laban;</i> <i>Walter J. Levy Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations</i> "Prospects for Democracy in the Philippines"	David D. Newsom January 23, 1985 Studies Program Luncheon
ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI WALT W. ROSTOW BRENT SCOWCROFT <i>Former National Security Advisers</i> "U.S. National Security: Past, Present, and Future"	Moderators: Lawrence S. Eagleburger Winston Lord March 8, 1985 Special Meeting with the International Studies Association
"Aftermath of an International Corporate Crisis: Management Response and Press Reaction"	Arthur Taylor March 27, 1985 Corporate Program Conference
J. RAOUL SCHOUMAKER <i>Ambassador of Belgium to the United States</i> GEORGE S. VEST <i>Director-General-Designate of the Foreign Service and</i> <i>Director of Personnel, State Department</i> "The European Community and American Policy: A Dialogue"	Robert R. Bowie May 22, 1985 Special Seminar
J. ROBERT SCHAEZEL <i>Former U.S. Representative to the European</i> <i>Communities</i> "Snapshot of the Community: 1985-1990"	Robert R. Bowie May 22, 1985 Special Seminar Series on "The Changing European Community: Implications for the United States"
MICHAEL S. TEITELBAUM <i>Program Officer, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation</i> DIEGO C. ASENSIO <i>United States Ambassador to Brazil</i> SUSAN KAUFMAN PURCELL <i>Director, Latin American Program, Council on</i> <i>Foreign Relations</i> "Immigration from Latin America as a U.S. Foreign Policy Issue"	Daniel A. Sharp June 24, 1985 Special Meeting

*Speaker and Topic*

JOSEPH A. GREENWALD  
*Of Counsel, Weil, Gotshal & Manges*  
"Industrial Trade Relations"

*Presider, Date and Type of Meeting*

Robert R. Bowie  
June 26, 1985  
Special Seminar on "The Changing  
European Community:  
Implications for the United  
States"

**Study/Discussion Group Meetings Held in Washington: 1984-85**

Note: For details of these meetings, see pp. 72-81 in the report on the Studies Program.

Discussion Group on Nuclear Diplomacy

Six meetings: September 10, October 22, December 3, 1984; January 14, February 25, June 3, 1985

Study Group on Korea

One meeting: March 11, 1985

Discussion Group on China

One meeting: March 13, 1985

The 1985 John J. McCloy Study Group on Eastern Europe

One meeting: April 25, 1985

## Membership

**F**ew factors are as important for the Council as the vitality and strength of its membership. The critical task of maintaining its quality, diversity, and effectiveness is in the first instance entrusted to a Membership Committee composed of five members of the Board of Directors and six non-Board members (two of whom must be under age 40 when co-opted to the Committee) who serve for standard terms of four years each.

Since 1971, the Committee has followed guidelines and procedures designed to insure that the membership as a whole remains balanced and diverse, encompassing a wide range of constituencies and views. The guidelines include target numbers used as norms for judgment by the Committee in determining roughly how many members the Council should have in each of several major occupational groups and geographical areas and also the optimum age distribution within each category. Individual candidates are measured against the criteria of intellectual attainment, expertise, degree of experience, interest and current involvement in international affairs, promise of future achievement and service in foreign relations, potential contributions to the Council's work, and, last but not least, the candidates' standing in their own communities. Under the Council's By-Laws, membership is limited to United States citizens or permanent residents who are in the process of becoming citizens.

### 1984-85 Elections

During the past year, the Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh served as Chairman of the Membership Committee. His fellow Board members were Juanita M. Kreps, Donald F. McHenry, Brent Scowcroft, and Stephen Stamas. Non-Board members who served during the year were Richard E. Beeman, Robert F. Erburu, Joan E. Spero, Fritz Stern, Franklin A. Thomas, and R. James Woolsey. The Committee met twice, first in mid-January and then in late May.

In addition to recommending candidates for regular membership in the Council, the Committee at its spring meeting each year considers recommendations of a special Term Membership Committee charged with identifying promising younger candidates at early stages of their professional careers. Composed of eleven members, its chairman is drawn from the Membership Committee itself. In 1984-85 R. James Woolsey again served in this capacity. Serving with him were Phil Comstock, Peter G. Gould, Arnold Kanter, Anne Karalekas, Adam Meyerson, Stephen A. Oxman, Condoleezza Rice, Jeffrey D. Sachs, Susan L. Segal and Mark Whitaker.

The term membership program began in 1970, and originally no more than ten young men and women age 27 and under were eligible annually for five-year term membership in the Council. Over the years, given the quality of candidates for term membership and their contribution to the Council, the Board of Directors has gradually raised both the age limit and the limit on the number of term members who may be elected each year. In June 1983, the Board approved a recommendation of the Membership Committee that the term membership program again be increased, this time from 25 to 40. The Board also raised the age limit to include men and women who are under age 35 in the year of election and set an upper limit of 20 for the number of candidates to be elected in the age 31-34 bracket. In 1985 the Board increased the overall limit from 40 to 50 and set a new upper limit of 30 for the number of candidates in the upper age bracket. The one-year waiting period all term members before they can be considered for regular membership remains in effect.

Undoubtedly reflecting the new higher age limit, the number of term membership candidates rose to a record high of 222, some 23 more than the previous year and 107 more than in 1983, without any diminution in the overall quality of the list, which all who were involved agreed continued to be outstand-

ing. The number of regular membership candidates also has been increasing steadily, year by year. In part reflecting the fact that there are only limited vacancies in New York and only a handful in Washington, the Committee once again recommended only a modest minority of the candidates brought before it.

As membership candidates are never rejected (their files are frequently reconsidered by the Membership Committee at a later date), it is not surprising that the number of files for men and women seeking admission to the Council in both term and regular membership categories increased to an all-time high.

#### **Council Electees 1985**

The names of men and women to whom membership invitations were extended by the Board of Directors during the year in both term and regular membership categories follow:

- \* Maj. John P. Abizaid, USA  
Elliott Abrams  
Odeh Aburdene  
John F. Akers
- \* Lisa Anderson  
Paul F. Anderson
- \* M. Michael Ansour  
Henry H. Arnhold  
Richard I. Beattie  
Samuel R. Berger  
His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Bernardin  
Robert D. Blackwill  
Rudy Boschwitz  
Tom Bradley  
John E. Bryson  
Kevin M. Cahill, M.D.  
Philip Caldwell
- \* Steven E. Carlson  
Gerhard Casper  
Anne Cox Chambers  
Buntzie Ellis Churchill  
John L. Clendenin  
William R. Cline
- \* Pamela M. J. Cox  
Rev. James R. Crumley, Jr.
- \* Timothy J. Curran
- \* Jacquelyn K. Davis
- \* Jerome Davis
- \* Debora de Hoyos
- \* Christopher S. Dickey  
Christopher J. Dodd  
Leonard Downie, Jr.  
Richard L. Duncan
- \* Nicholas N. Eberstadt
- \* Eric S. Edelman  
Charles R. Eisendrath  
Keith P. Ellison  
Mathea Falco
- \* Tim W. Ferguson
- \* Stephen J. Flanagan  
Robert P. Forrestal
- \* John D. Fox  
Harry L. Freeman
- \* Paul Fribourg
- \* Thomas L. Friedman  
Philomene A. Gates  
Nathan Glazer  
Joseph T. Gorman  
Thomas Graham, Jr.  
Robert S. Hatfield  
Jess T. Hay  
Margaret Daly Hayes
- \* Mitchell W. Hedstrom  
Alice H. Henkin  
Charles Frazer Hermann  
Velma Murphy Hill  
James B. Holderman  
Gary C. Hufbauer  
Karl F. Inderfurth  
Leon E. Irish
- \* Merit E. Janow
- \* Paul G. Johnson
- \* Richard Alan Johnson  
John T. Joyce
- \* Robert W. Kagan  
Peter R. Kann  
Helene L. Kaplan  
Thomas G. Karis
- \* Capt. Lonnie S. Keene, USA  
John H. Kelly  
Robert M. Kimmitt  
Henry L. King
- \* Maj. Michael Kirby, USA  
William S. Kiser, M.D.
- \* Christopher A. Kojm  
Stephen D. Krasner  
Michael Krepon
- \* Paul R. Krugman
- \* John C. Kulewicz  
Robert H. Kupperman

\* Elected to five-year term membership.

## Membership

Lansing Lamont  
 Lt. Gen. Richard D. Lawrence, USA  
 Reynold Levy  
 Stephen R. Lewis, Jr.  
 \* I. Lewis Libby  
 David F. Linowes  
 Leon Lynch  
 Donald J. McCouch  
 Emily MacFarquhar  
 \* Peter Malone  
 \* Michael D. Mann  
 Hans M. Mark  
 \* Michele G. Markoff  
 Charles F. Meissner  
 Philip Merrill  
 Alan R. Millett  
 \* Mike M. Mochizuki  
 Russell B. Newton, Jr.  
 Herbert S. Okun  
 Sara V. Pais  
 \* John C. Palenberg  
 Roger P. Parkinson  
 Aulana L. Peters  
 Elizabeth Pond  
 \* William M. Reichert  
 Frank H. T. Rhodes  
 \* Michael D. Rich  
 William B. Richardson  
 John B. Ritch III  
 \* Robert Rivard  
 Walter R. Roberts  
 \* William Lawrence Rohter, Jr.  
 Brig. Gen. Ervin J. Rokke, USAF  
 Alan D. Romberg  
 Arthur Ross  
 \* Scott Sagan  
 \* Barbara C. Samuels II  
 Nestor D. Sanchez  
 \* David J. Scheffer  
 William Schneider  
 Lt. Gen. George M. Seignious II, USA  
 (Ret.)  
 Raymond P. Shafer  
 \* James M. Shannon  
 George H. Shenk  
 Henry Siegman  
 \* Jeffrey K. Skilling  
 \* Jacqueline R. Slater  
 Lawrence M. Small  
 \* A. Wing Sommers  
 Anthony P. Terracciano  
 Brooks Thomas

Laurence A. Tisch  
 Peter J. Wallison  
 \* Stephen M. Walt  
 \* Gerald F. Warburg II  
 Ben J. Wattenberg  
 Lowell P. Weicker, Jr.  
 Peter C. White  
 \* Dag Wilkinson  
 \* Adrien Katherine Wing  
 Rev. Francis X. Winters, S. J.  
 \* Edward Witten  
 \* Nancy Young

### Profile of the Membership

As of June 30, 1985, the Council had a total of 2,376 members. This is an increase of 66 over the previous year's total of 2,310 members. The total of the stated membership (defined by By-Law I as those members who are under the age of 70, reside in the United States, and are neither honorary members nor five-year term members), measured as of the time of the spring meeting of the Membership Committee, increased by 37, from 1,662 in 1984 to 1,699 in 1985. The total of the stated membership, including resident and non-resident members, remains set at 1,900 with the further requirement that "not less than one-third nor more than one-half shall be composed of resident members."

Of the total membership, 897 were resident in New York, 139 in Boston, 571 in Washington, and the remaining 769 elsewhere in the United States or overseas, as of June 30. Broadly categorized, the membership profile is as follows:

Profession	Number of Members
Business executives (including banking)	649
Academic scholars and administrators	497
U.S. government officials	262
Non-profit institution administrators	366
Journalists, correspondents, and communications executives	250
Lawyers	241
Other	111
Total	2,376



*Membership Committee meeting*

It should be noted that 65% of the present total membership of the Council has been elected during the past thirteen years, reflecting in no small part the diligent work of the Membership Committee. Since 1970, when membership was first extended to women, 250 have been elected to membership. Of the 143 individuals elected during the year, 48 came from areas beyond Boston, New York, and Washington, primarily from important international decision-making centers, including Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Texas, to mention but a few. Electing qualified members from these and other non-resident areas will remain a high priority for the Membership Committee. Such members help spread the geographical reach of the Council and reflect diverse perspectives that are not always taken into account in foreign policy deliberations.

The major occupational groups that most need strengthening remain, as in recent years, those of commerce and indus-

try (as opposed to lawyers and bankers) under age 50, and labor. The Committee will continue to welcome the nomination of women and minority candidates and persons from occupations or fields not usually associated with foreign policy but where there is a genuine international involvement. Religious leaders and scientists both fall into the last category.

To be considered by the Membership Committee, a candidate must be nominated by a Council member in a letter which should describe in depth his or her qualifications, and must be seconded by one or more Council members. All such letters should be directed to Lorna Brennan, Associate Director of Membership Affairs. Should you wish more information, a short but comprehensive memorandum on membership application procedures is available on request. Lorna Brennan and the staff of the Membership Office are always available to answer any questions that you may have.

Please remember that there are two

cut-off points each year for the submission of materials on candidates to be considered by the Membership Committee: October 15 and March 15. Candidates whose files are not complete on these dates will be put over, without prejudice, into the following cycle. The cut-off point

for submission of proposing and supporting letters for candidates for Council term membership remains January 31.

John Temple Swing  
*Acting President*

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## 1985 Board Election

**T**he Council's By-Laws provide for twenty-four elected Directors (plus the President *ex officio*), divided into three classes of eight, each class to serve for a term of three years. The eight Directors whose current terms expired on August 31, 1985 were Graham T. Allison, Jr., Warren Christopher, Richard L. Gelb, Alan Greenspan, Theodore M. Hesburgh, Lewis T. Preston, David Rockefeller and Clifton R. Wharton, Jr. Two of them, Theodore M. Hesburgh and David Rockefeller, were not eligible for re-election since both had served the maximum number of terms permitted by the By-Laws in effect since 1971, which generally limit length of service to three consecutive

three-year terms. By-Law V also requires that "A Director shall retire on the first day of September of the calendar year in which he or she reaches the age of seventy." Mr. Rockefeller achieved that age during 1985.

The procedures by which Directors are elected were changed in two important ways in 1985. In February, Mr. Rockefeller wrote to all members of the Council welcoming their comments on a proposal recommended by the Nominating Committee and the Board that, henceforth, the Nominating Committee "be called on to construct a slate of nominees equal to the number of vacancies in any election (normally eight, but more than that when the number of vacancies



risers) specifically undertaking to balance the requirements of diverse representation, continuity and functional strength within the Board." The proposal was coupled with a recommendation that the number of non-Board members serving on the Nominating Committee be increased by two, producing a two-to-one ratio between non-Board members and Board members on a 15-member committee. The response of those members who were moved to comment was almost uniformly in favor, and the By-Law amendments required to implement the changes in time for the June, 1985 election were approved.

Pursuant to the amended By-Laws, in April the Nominating Committee, composed of five Board members: Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Chairman, Philip L. Geyelin, William D. Rogers, Brent Scowcroft, and Marina v.N. Whitman, and eight additional Council members: Ralph P. Davidson, Richard W. Fisher, George S. Franklin, Suzanne Garment, Robert S. Ingersoll, James A. Joseph, Joseph S. Nye, Jr., and William W. Scranton, added two new non-Board members to its ranks: Henry B. Cisneros, Mayor of San Antonio, and Marvin Goldberger, President of the California Institute of Technology. Also in April, after considering a pool of close to 200 names suggested by Council members and in accordance with the By-Laws as recently amended, the Committee developed the following slate of eight candidates for eight vacancies, each of whom indicated willingness to serve if elected: Graham T. Allison, Jr., Warren Christopher, Richard L. Gelb, Alan Greenspan, B.R. Inman, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Lewis T. Preston, and Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.

Lewis T. Preston, and Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.

The Nominating Committee mailed notification of its slate of nominees to each Council member on May 2, 1985, with the reminder that under the By-Laws, the name of any member nominated by the signed petition of ten or more members would be added to the ballot. Two candidates, James Chace and Rita E. Hauser, were so nominated and their names were included on the ballots mailed to all Council members on May 30.

At the annual meeting for the election of Directors, held June 27, 1985, 1,360 members (59.1% of those entitled to vote) were present in person or by proxy. The following eight nominees received more votes than any other nominees and were declared elected Directors of the Council, effective September 1, 1985: Graham T. Allison, Jr., Warren Christopher, Richard L. Gelb, Alan Greenspan, B.R. Inman, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Lewis T. Preston and Clifton R. Wharton, Jr. All were allocated three-year terms expiring August 31, 1988.

No member's name was written on as many as ten ballots cast at the June 27 meeting; therefore, no person was nominated for the 1986 election by the write-in procedure for which provision is made in the By-Laws.

Samuel C. Butler, Michael V. Forrestal, and Peter O. A. Solbert served as election overseers as to the receipt and the tabulation of votes and the proceedings at the June 27 meeting.

John Temple Swing  
*Acting President*

## International Affairs Fellowships

**E**mbarking on its twentieth year, the International Affairs Fellowship Program is designed to advance the professional development of men and women between the ages of 27 and 35. Each year, about a dozen Americans are provided an opportunity to broaden their expertise in the field of international affairs and to add a unique dimension to their careers. The fellowships seek to bridge the chronic gap between thought and action in foreign policy by supporting both a variety of policy studies and active exposure to policy-making. The distinctive character of the program lies in the provision of such contrasting experiences for young individuals working at the nexus of policy research and policy implementation. Thus, academics and others from the private sector are enabled to apply their skills and perspectives in a policy-oriented environment through operational experience in public service. Conversely, government officials, on leave, are provided the opportunity to produce systematic assessments of key issues in a scholarly atmosphere free from the pressures of decision-making.

This year, after intensive efforts to secure adequate financial support to continue the program, a major new grant was received from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, a substantial benefactor of the program in previous years. It is anticipated that additional foundation support, to ensure a minimum of a dozen appointments annually, will be forthcoming.

Nominations for fellowship appointments are invited from more than 3,000 members of the foreign policy community; qualified individuals, even without nomination, are also encouraged to enter the competition. Each year, the Advisory Selection Committee, drawing from distinguished individuals in the public and private sectors, evaluates 40 to 70 formal proposals. Members of the Committee who have completed their terms this past year, and to whom the program is deeply indebted, are Professor Gaddis Smith,

Yale's diplomatic historian; Professor Susanne Rudolph, Chairman of the Department of Political and Social Sciences at the University of Chicago; and Professor Harold K. Jacobson, of the Center for Political Studies, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

Additions to the Committee this past year were Lynn Davis, former Assistant Deputy Under Secretary of Defense and recently appointed assistant director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London; Edward K. Hamilton, formerly of the National Security Council Staff and Deputy Mayor of New York City, and currently a management consultant in Los Angeles; and Sandy Vogelgesang, the economic counselor at the United States Embassy in Ottawa. Both Drs. Davis and Vogelgesang are alumnae of the IAF program.

### Current IAFs

International Affairs Fellows for 1984-85 together with their home institutions, fields of study and locations during their fellowship have been:

Joseph T. Jockel, St. Lawrence University (Can the U.S. implement a new and effective Canada-policy?; Department of State, Washington, D.C.)

Zalmay Khalilzad, Columbia University (Nuclear proliferation and international stability; National Security Council, Department of Defense and Department of State, Washington, D.C.)

Barry Rubin, Georgetown University (Middle East policy-making in the U.S. government; United States Senate, Washington, D.C.)

Scott D. Sagan, Harvard University (Force readiness and crisis management; Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Department of Defense, Washington, D.C. and Council on Foreign Relations, New York)

Francine E. Schulberg, Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan, (International trade in hazardous products; Office of the United States Trade Representative, Washington, D.C.)

David S. Yost, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School  
(German-American relations: contrasting assessments of the U.S.S.R. and policy aims and instruments; Department of Defense, Washington, D.C.)

Six IAFs, awarded fellowships in previous competitions, have served their tenures during 1984-85:

Andrew J. Bacevich, United States Army  
(The transformation of American military doctrine in the post-Vietnam era; Department of State, Washington, D.C. and Council on Foreign Relations, New York)

Barbara Insel, The World Bank  
(The formulation of agricultural marketing policy in developing countries; Continental Grain Company, New York, Minneapolis, and Paris, and Council on Foreign Relations, New York)

Steven P. Kramer, University of New Mexico  
(U.S. policy and policy-making toward European socialism; Department of State, Washington, D.C.)

John S. Odell, Harvard University and University of Southern California  
(International and domestic negotiations on economic issues; Office of the United States Trade Representative and Institute for International Economics, Washington, D.C.)

James P. Piscatori, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, London, and Australian National University  
(Shi'i political movements; United States Congress, Washington, D.C.)

Steven E. Sanderson, University of Florida  
(The politics of agricultural trade and food security in Latin America; Office of the United States Trade Representative, Washington, D.C.)

#### **The New Fellows**

In choosing the 1985-86 class of Fellows, the Advisory Selection Committee

considered proposals from 52 candidates. From these nominees, a dozen IAFs were chosen and have accepted the Council's award. They will begin their projects at various times during the year.

Bruce D. Berkowitz, University of Minnesota  
(Congressional oversight of intelligence production; United States Senate, Washington, D.C.)

Elizabeth Ann Goldstein, Federal Reserve Bank of New York  
(Trade, finance and the LDC debt problem: the transition to normalcy; Washington, D.C. and New York)

Joseph M. Grieco, Duke University  
(U.S. trade policy, international cooperation and the problem of relative gains; Washington, D.C.)

Steven R. Koltai, Coronet Soci  t   d'Etudes, S.A.  
(Problems in international trade and finance: the role of the entrepreneur and venture capital; University of California at Berkeley and Council on Foreign Relations, New York)

Robert S. Litwak, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars  
(The determinants of Soviet policy toward southwest Asia: implications for American policy; Washington, D.C.)

Judith S. McGuire, Agency for International Development  
(Dilemmas in addressing world hunger; Resources for the Future, Washington)

Michael E. Ranneberger, Department of State

(The United States and southern Africa: a case study in foreign policy formulation; Council on Foreign Relations, New York, and Yale University)

Condoleezza Rice, Stanford University  
(Squaring the circle: the integration of arms control initiatives and force modernization; Washington, D.C.)

Richard M. Saunders, United States Military Academy  
(The effects of military doctrines, force structures, and advice on the formulation and implementation of U.S. policy in the third world; Washington, D.C.)

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## International Affairs Fellowships

Robert Schware, Computer Data Systems, Inc.  
(Policies for the transfer and "effective" use of microcomputer technology in developing countries; National Research Council and World Bank, Washington, D.C.)

James B. Steinberg, United States Senate  
(Burden-sharing and Allied cooperation in European defense; International Institute for Strategic Studies, London and NATO, Brussels)

Nancy B. Tucker, Colgate University  
(Influences on United States policy-making toward the People's Republic of China; Department of State, Washington, D.C.)

Six Fellows, awarded grants in the 1984-85 competition, have deferred their tenures until 1985-86:

Peter F. Cowhey, University of California, San Diego  
(American foreign policy and the restructuring of international telecommunications networks; AT&T International, New Jersey)

Karen L. Dawisha, The Brookings Institution and Princeton University  
(Crisis prevention and management regimes for the third world: U.S. perceptions of Soviet intentions and preferences; Department of State, Washington, D.C. and Council on Foreign Relations, New York)

Daniel S. Koch, Federal Trade Commission  
(Conditioning trade relief upon industry adjustment; Europe and Council on Foreign Relations, New York)

Philip R. Lindner, U.S. Military Academy, West Point  
(Transforming NATO military doctrine: flexible response in the 1980s; International Institute for Strategic Studies, London)

Gale A. Mattox, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis  
(NATO: issues of nuclear and conventional armament policy; Department of State, Washington, D.C.)

Ernest J. Wilson, University of Michigan  
(The foreign policy challenge of export trading companies: domestic adjustments to international change; Petroleum Finance Corporation, Washington, D.C.)

### IAF Activities

For the past half dozen years, special programs have been held semi-annually in Washington, D.C., specifically for the Fellows. In addition, current and former Military, State Department, and Press Fellows, selected members of the Council, and spouses attend these sessions. In the Fall of 1984, John Duke Anthony, President of the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations, spoke on "American Security Interests and Involvement in the Persian Gulf: Implications for Policies and Actions." This spring, following a reception in honor of the Fellows, William B. Blakemore, the Edward R. Murrow Press Fellow at the Council this year, addressed a gathering on the papacy and foreign policy. In addition, at a roundtable seminar in April, Dimitri Simes, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Strobe Talbott, *Time's* Washington Bureau Chief, led a discussion on the accession of Gorbachev and prospects for U.S.-Soviet relations.

Each Spring, a two-day series of seminars is traditionally held at the Council during which Fellows have the opportunity to share the findings of their projects with one another and individuals invited for their experience and expertise regarding the topic at hand. Council Chairman David Rockefeller's traditional luncheon (and informal discussion) in honor of the Fellows this year was held at the Union Club. Concurrently, Susan Purcell, the Council's Director of Latin American Programs, and Alan Romberg, Director of the Council's Asian Studies, led a roundtable luncheon discussion in honor of the newly appointed Fellows. This year's annual seminars, attended by forty past and present Fellows and held at the Pratt House on June 13 and 14, included the following presentations:

“U.S. International Trade Objectives and Domestic Politics: Are They Consistent?”

JOHN S. ODELL, Office of the United States Trade Representative and Institute for International Economics (University of Southern California)

C. Michael Aho, Council on Foreign Relations, presiding

“Agriculture: The International Consequences of Domestic Policy”

BARBARA INSEL, Continental Grain Company and Council on Foreign Relations (The World Bank)

Helena Stalson, Council on Foreign Relations, presiding

“Bilateral and Multilateral Efforts to Encourage and Protect International Private Investment”

PAMELA B. GANN, Office of the United States Trade Representative and International Monetary Fund (Duke University)

John T. Basek, Multinational Strategies, Inc., presiding

“Managing United States-Canada Relations”

JOSEPH T. JOCKEL, Department of State (St. Lawrence University)

Brandon W. Sweitzer, Marsh & McLennan, Inc., presiding

“The Identity Crisis of European Socialism and the Crisis in Central America”

STEVEN P. KRAMER, Department of State (University of New Mexico)

Susan K. Purcell, Council on Foreign Relations, presiding

“Congress and Foreign Policy: Limits of Leverage on the Middle East and Central America”

BARRY RUBIN, United States Senate (Georgetown University)

Paul Kreisberg, Council on Foreign Relations, presiding

“German-American Security Relations: The Case of the Strategic Defense Initiative”

DAVID S. YOST, Department of Defense (United States Naval Postgraduate School)

Andrew J. Pierre, Council on Foreign Relations, presiding

“Nuclear Alerts and Crisis Management”  
SCOTT D. SAGAN, Department of Defense (Harvard University)

Michael E. Mandelbaum, Lehrman Institute, presiding

“Give and Take on American Foreign Policy: The Next 3½ Years”

WINSTON LORD, Council on Foreign Relations

Alton Frye, Council on Foreign Relations, presiding

### Overview

The program retains its focus on providing contrasting career experiences for young foreign policy professionals, affording academics the opportunity to participate in a policy-making environment and policy-makers a chance to reflect and write in suitable settings away from operational pressures.

The contributions of individual Fellows, especially in government service, have bred increased demand for Fellows to work in both the executive and legislative branches; a number of university and research institutions are also alert to possible opportunities to have Fellows in residence, so that the variety of placements continues to expand. We are particularly pleased to note that in recent months Fellows have been invited to serve in delicate and responsible roles in the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, positions usually off limits to anyone in a private program.

In recent years the program has taken on a truly national complexion in regard to the applicant pool at large and the grant recipients. The recent contingent of Fellows, for example, highlights

## International Affairs Fellowships

this diversity with natives of Texas, Florida, Alabama, Massachusetts, and even Afghanistan and Hungary; IAFs holding doctorates or law degrees ranging from Cornell and MIT to the London School of Economics and the University of California at Berkeley; and with institutional affiliations at the time of appointment as Fellows from Annapolis and West Point, Duke, Stanford and the Australian National University to the U.S. Agency of International Development, Federal Trade Commission and United States Senate.

A relatively recent development within the program has been the inclusion of candidates, over a dozen of them successful grantees, from the corporate sector and military services, to complement the applicants usually emanating from academe and government agencies. Conversely, several IAFs from govern-

ment and academe have spent, or are currently spending, their fellowship tenures at multinational firms including Continental Grain Company, the Petroleum Finance Corporation of Sears World Trade, Inc., and AT&T International.

Although the pool of women and minority candidates for appointments in international affairs remains limited, it is gradually swelling. The IAF Program is proud that, among the black Americans who have been Fellows, two have risen to ambassadorial rank in the foreign service: Donald F. McHenry and George E. Moose. Among women Fellows, several have moved on to roles of major distinction and responsibility: Paula Stern as chairwoman of the International Trade Commission, Catherine Kelleher as a senior professor in the University of Maryland's graduate program in national security affairs, Lynn Davis as assistant



*IAF Seminar*

director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, Joan Spero as a senior vice president of American Express, Pamela Gann as an eminent member of the Duke University law faculty, and Sandy Vogelgesang as a high ranking career Foreign Service Officer now serving as the senior economic counsellor at our Ottawa embassy. We note that four of the twelve Fellows chosen for 1985-86 are women (compared to three of twelve in 1984-85), a disproportionately high success rate for the number of nominees presented to the selection committee.

As one collateral measure of the Fellowship Program's effectiveness in identifying future leaders in the field, more than sixty Fellows have subsequently been elected to membership in the Council on Foreign Relations, a distinction based on rigorous competition and reflecting an independent evaluation of the individual's achievement and promise.

Without exception, the contingent of

IAFs who have served during 1984-85 has compiled an exemplary record, whether based at the Council, overseas, at the Pentagon, Department of State, White House or Capitol Hill. Also of note is that for the first time in the history of the program, a Fellow served in the corporate sector, at a multinational trading firm.

Recent experience has confirmed the value of the program's central concept. That experience has also bolstered the growing involvement of the Fellows in the activities and work of the Council, both during and after their appointments. As it enters its twentieth year, the program reaffirms its mandate to bridge the worlds of policy action and policy analysis and to link the generations of Americans professionally concerned with U.S. foreign policy and international relations.

Alton Frye  
*Director*

Kempton Dunn  
*Associate Director*

## The Committees on Foreign Relations

**T**he Committees on Foreign Relations affiliated with the Council in 38 cities have had a banner year, establishing records in the total number of meetings (361) and total membership (3,817). (The previous records were 347 and 3,767, respectively.)

The Committees are informal educational organizations that bring their members together, usually for a monthly dinner meeting from September through June, to discuss problems of foreign policy with visiting speakers. In governance, membership invitation, finance, and program selection, the Committees are autonomous. Each is administered by a locally chosen Committee Secretary whose substantive qualifications, energy and community ties are fundamental to the success of the Committee. He/she advises the Director of Committees, who provides about 60 percent of the Committees' discussion leaders, as to the group's interests in terms of speakers and topics, and arranges the remainder of the Committee's speakers.

### The Council and the Committees

This sizable network of groups made up largely of opinion makers in the field of foreign affairs is not duplicated anywhere else in the world. It adds greatly to the ability of the Council to extend its nonpartisan educational efforts nationwide, supplemented by the Council's membership in various parts of the country. In order to strengthen its links with the Committees, the Council invites Committee members to attend its general meetings in New York City and Washington (Committee Secretaries receive the Council's monthly calendar of meetings) and to participate in regional events, such as the meetings and conferences arranged for Council members during the past year in Los Angeles, Minneapolis-St. Paul and San Francisco. These have been well attended by Committee members from neighboring cities and states.

In addition, many Council publications have been distributed to the Committees. All issues of *Council Briefings*, a

newsletter containing information about the Committees as well as all other Council activities, and the list of recent Council books were sent by direct mail to every Committee member, and copies of *Canada and the United States*, the Final Report of the 68th American Assembly, co-sponsored by the Council and the American Assembly, were sent to all members of selected Committees. Copies of every Council-published paperback, including the European-American Project series, were sent to each Committee Secretary to be loaned to Committee members interested in the particular subject matter. They were notified, as well, of the availability to Committee members of a 25 percent discount on Council published books. Committee Secretaries were also supplied, for their members, copies of the Council President's circular letter and substantive papers such as the texts of talks at the Council by Thomas L. Friedman and Zbigniew Brzezinski.

Committee Secretaries are regularly provided information about Council members moving to their areas so that they can be invited to meetings and/or to join the Committee. A number of Committees have extended to Council members who do not choose to join the privilege of attending selected meetings at cost.

Committee members, through Committee Secretaries, are invited to nominate candidates for the Council's International Affairs Fellowships, described elsewhere in this report. Over a period of years a number of the Fellows selected have come from these sources.

For the benefit of the public, Committee Secretaries arrange, for visiting speakers who are willing, media interviews, editorial backgrounders, and meetings with other non-overlapping audiences, such as college and university faculty members and graduate students. Some 300 such outreach events were arranged by Committee Secretaries during this season.



### Committee Programs

Interest in Latin America, as revealed in program content during the season, continued to be high. A total of 47 meetings related to that area, 33 of them focused on Central America, Nicaragua and Mexico. National security was covered with 45 meetings, 29 of them devoted to arms control (up from 13 the year before) and 6 to intelligence as a factor in foreign policy. A substantial number of meetings dealt with the Middle East (40), with Europe (38), and with the U.S.S.R. and U.S.-Soviet relations (39). Developments in Northeast Asia and the Pacific were discussed at 37 meetings, 19 of them on China; and ASEAN and Southeast Asia were treated at 23. Africa received greater emphasis than ever before—24 meetings—of which half related to South Africa. At 19 meetings South Asia was the subject. World economic issues were the theme at 18 meetings, 16 of them relating to interna-

tional debt. Other subjects included international law, the media and foreign policy, and the United Nations.

As indicated elsewhere in this report, some of the Committees profited from the presence in the United States of the Council's Walter J. Levy Fellow, Aquilino Pimentel, who led discussions for the Committees in Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Worcester.

Committee members participated in seven regional events arranged by the Council, as follows: in Los Angeles, three luncheon meetings (with Louis Nel, Mario Ramon Beteta and Admiral William J. Crowe, respectively), and two dinner meetings (with Sol M. Linowitz and Edward L. Rowny); in Minneapolis, a luncheon meeting with Malcolm Fraser; and in San Francisco, a Conference (at which the dinner speaker was Michael H. Armacost), which was attended by Committee members from cities in California and other states. (Details are supplied



Winston Lord, George C. Paine, II, and Caspar Weinberger, at the Regional Conference in Nashville, arranged by the Birmingham, Louisville and Nashville Committees

## The Committees on Foreign Relations



*Franklin Hall Williams, Alan L. Keyes, and John C. Bierly, 47th Annual Conference*

elsewhere in this report.) On the average, about half those in attendance at each event were Committee members. The value of these events is the opportunity they afford for an exchange of views not only with the visiting speakers, but among Council and Committee members and the Council officers who attend.

Two regional conferences were arranged locally, with assistance from the Council, to which Council and Committee members in the region were invited. Thus in May the Secretaries of the Albuquerque, Phoenix and Tucson Committees held a Conference in Phoenix for discussions with the Ambassadors of the six ASEAN countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Brunei. Winston Lord presented a summary comment at the end of the Conference. A day later, at a Conference in Nashville arranged by the Secretaries of the Birmingham, Louisville and Nashville Committees, Caspar Weinberger spoke at luncheon. This was followed by

discussions on East-West relations, led by Donald A. Papp of the Georgia Institute of Technology and Richard S. Pipes of Harvard University, and on North-South relations, led by Francisco Campbell, Minister Counselor at Nicaragua's Embassy in Washington, and Susan Kaufman Purcell, Senior Fellow and Director of the Council's Latin American program. Winston Lord presided.

The 47th Annual Conference of the Committees, held at the Council, June 6-8, attracted the largest attendance ever: 81 Committee members from 35 of the Committees, 13 Council members (only a small selection of those most interested in the topic were invited), and 17 Council staff members—a total of 111. The Conference theme was "The U.S. and South Africa: Interests, Aims and Options." (Discussion leaders are listed below.) At dinner the evening of June 7, Franklin A. Thomas, President of the Ford Foundation, spoke. Stephen Low presided at all the Friday sessions and



*Reception for the Committees at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert M. McKinney*

Jennifer Seymour Whitaker presided the following morning.

**Speakers**

More Council members than ever before (55) led Committee discussions during the year, namely:

Kenneth L. Adelman  
James E. Akins  
Peter D. Bell  
L. Dean Brown  
Abram Chayes  
Antonia Chayes  
Jerome A. Cohen  
Richard E. Combs, Jr.  
Jane Abell Coon  
William J. Crowe  
Jonathan Dean  
Arnaud de Borchgrave  
Richard D. Erb  
Tom J. Farer  
S.R. Foley  
Alton Frye  
Richard Garwin  
Marshall I. Goldman  
James Nelson Goodsell  
Paul F. Gorman  
Peter Grose

Richard N. Haass  
Amoretta M. Hoeber  
Fred Charles Ikle  
William E. Jackson  
Paul Kreisberg  
Roger Kubarych  
Sol M. Linowitz  
Winston Lord  
Abraham Lowenthal  
Clare Booth Luce  
Charles William Maynes  
Ambler H. Moss  
John D. Negroponte  
David D. Newsom  
Paul H. Nitze  
Robert B. Oxnam  
Guy Pauker  
Andrew J. Pierre  
Richard E. Pipes  
Nelson W. Polsby  
Susan Kaufman Purcell  
Olin C. Robinson  
Edward L. Rowny  
Lawrence Scheinman  
George P. Shultz  
Dimitri Simes  
Helmut Sonnenfeldt  
William H. Sullivan

## The Committees on Foreign Relations

John Temple Swing  
Stansfield Turner  
Alexander Vershbow  
Caspar Weinberger  
Jennifer Seymour Whitaker  
Dov S. Zakheim

Among the 88 statesmen and experts of other nationalities who led a total of 141 Committee discussions were the following:

Ejaz Azim, *Ambassador of Pakistan*  
K. Shankar Bajpai, *Ambassador of India*  
Sergio Correa da Costa, *Ambassador of Brazil*  
Lucio Garcia del Solar, *Ambassador of Argentina*  
Werner Holzer, *Editor-in-Chief, Frankfurter Rundschau*  
Rafic Jouejati, *Ambassador of Syria*  
Tommy T. B. Koh, *Ambassador of Singapore*  
Marcos G. McGrath, *Archbishop of Panama*  
Inga Thorsson, *Under Secretary of State, Sweden*

At the Annual Conference, discussion leaders were:

Fikile Bam, *Visiting Fellow, Southern African Research Program, Yale University*  
Phil Christenson, *Professional Staff Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee*  
Donald B. Easum, *President, African-American Institute*  
Willard R. Johnson, *Professor, Political Science Department, Massachusetts Institute of Technology*  
Alan L. Keyes, *United States Representative, United Nations Economic and Security Council*  
Stephen Low, *Director, Foreign Service Institute*  
Stephen Solarz, *Member, U.S. House of Representatives*  
Maurice F. Strong, *Executive Coordinator, United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Africa*  
Franklin A. Thomas, *President, Ford Foundation*

Sir John Thomson, *Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations*

Kurt R. S. von Schirnding, *Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations*

Jennifer Seymour Whitaker, *Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations*

During the coming year the Council will continue to assist Committee leaders' efforts to focus Committee discussion on foreign policy problems of current importance and to insure hearings of differing points of view on controversial issues. We shall also continue to strengthen the bonds between the Council and the Committees by such means as inviting Committee members to Council-arranged regional events and assisting Committees that seek to arrange regional events on their own. As feasible, we will arrange one (or more) parallel study groups in a Committee city, to involve Council and Committee members expert on the study group's theme.

Rolland Bushner  
*Director, Committees on Foreign Relations*

## The Committees

Albuquerque	Nashville
Atlanta	Omaha
Billings	Philadelphia
Birmingham	Phoenix
Boise	Portland, Me.
Boston	Portland, Ore.
Casper	Providence
Charlottesville	Rochester
Cleveland	Salt Lake City
Denver	San Francisco
Des Moines	Santa Barbara
Detroit	Seattle
Honolulu	St. Paul-Minneapolis
Houston	St. Louis
Indianapolis	Tampa Bay Area
Little Rock	Tucson
Los Angeles	Tulsa
Louisville	Wichita
Miami	Worcester

## The Corporate Program

**F**or the fourth consecutive year, corporate subscriptions have totalled over one million dollars. Not only has this sum helped defray general Council expenses, it has also allowed the Corporate Program to continue to expand its meetings and special conferences for our corporate members.

While a full list of seminars and meetings for this past year follows, some of the highlights include: an afternoon meeting with the Acting Soviet Trade Representative to the United States, A.V. Melnikov; roundtable dinners with Zbigniew Brzezinski and Peter Peterson; a Washington Conference on crisis management; and a Seminar on U.S. trade policy featuring Robert Strauss, former U.S. Trade Representative, and current Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige. In short, it was a good program year. We will strive to surpass it this coming year.

Plans are already under way to add a new feature in years to come, namely, a Corporate Program sponsored trip to a country whose trade relations are especially important to the U.S. The first trip has been scheduled for Canada, including meetings with the Prime Minister and other key government officials. The trip will involve twelve to fifteen chief executive officers whose companies have a major interest in Canadian trade. We hope that by this time next year the outcome will have been positive enough for the Corporate Program to schedule another such trip to an equally important trading partner nation.

This new program will, of course, be in addition to the following benefits which accrue to all members of the program.

1. An annual black-tie dinner exclusively for chairmen, presidents and managing partners of member companies, with an address by a prominent statesman.
2. Semi-annual seminars held each fall and spring which examine in depth a particular world problem, the ramifications of which affect American business.

3. A series of special afternoon meetings in which top executives discuss specific foreign policy issues that affect their business overseas.
4. Corporate Program members are included in selected regular members' meetings when the subject is germane to the business community.
5. Corporate Program members may be considered for participation in selected study and discussion groups that have bearing on their particular industries.
6. The corporate membership is asked to submit the names of up-and-coming young executives as candidates for the Council's International Affairs Fellowship awards. These fellowships are for one year, and those executives chosen gain experience in the intricacies of international policy in the making.
7. Corporate Program members may use the Council's Library on international affairs—a specialized collection of some 40,000 volumes, with a continuous clipping service of leading world newspapers and periodicals.
8. The Council's journal, *Foreign Affairs*, is sent to designated company executives. Other Council publications are offered to corporate subscribers either without charge or at a substantial discount.
9. In addition to our corporate seminars and afternoon meetings, the Corporate Program has instituted a one-day conference in Washington on a political or economic topic of immediate importance.
10. A series of small executive luncheons providing industrial managers with background briefings and discussion of a critical issue.
11. Occasional small roundtable evening dinners for chief executive officers when appropriate.

The Corporate Program is crucial to the Council. Thus, it is a pleasure not only to welcome those new corporate members who joined this year, but also to thank those companies that have been

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## The Corporate Program

so active and generous over the years. These memberships allow the Corporate Program not only to offer the kind of full schedule as listed, but also to experiment constantly with new corporate events that

will benefit the members and enrich the Council's agenda.

John A. Millington  
*Director, Corporate Program*

## Corporate Program Seminars

### Fall 1984 Seminar

November 15-16, 1984

#### "High Technology: What's Ahead & Who's Ahead"

Chairman of the Seminar: Frank Press  
*President, National Academy of Sciences*

I. Managing Technological Changes  
Dinner Speaker: B.R. Inman  
*President and CEO, MCC Corporation*

II. Technology—What's Ahead  
Speaker: James Baker  
*Executive Vice President, General Electric Company*

III. The High Technology Race: Cooperation & Competition  
Speaker: Keisuke Yawata  
*President and CEO, NEC Electronics*

IV. Machine Intelligence Moves Ahead  
Speaker: Robert S. Cooper  
*Assistant Secretary (Research & Technology); Director, Defense Advance Research Projects Agency, U.S. Department of Defense*

V. The Administration's Plan to Keep the U.S. Number One in High Technology  
Luncheon Speaker: Clarence J. Brown  
*Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of Commerce*  
Presider: Rodney W. Nichols  
*Executive Vice President, The Rockefeller University*

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## Washington Conference

March 27, 1985

#### "Aftermath of an International Corporate Crisis: Management Response and Press Reaction"

Presider of the Conference: Arthur Taylor  
*Chairman, Arthur Taylor & Co.*

I. Anatomy of the Bhopal Crisis  
Speaker: Stuart Diamond  
*Correspondent, The New York Times*  
Speaker: Paul Shrivastava  
*Professor, Graduate School of Business Administration, New York University*  
Speaker: T. George Harris  
*Editor, American Health Magazine*

II. Anatomy of Successful Crisis Management

Luncheon Speaker: James Burke  
*Chairman and CEO, Johnson & Johnson*

III. International Implications and The Press Response

Speaker: Zoltan Merszei  
*Vice Chairman, Occidental Petroleum Corporation*

Speaker: Daniel Schorr  
*Senior Correspondent, Cable News Network*

**Spring 1985 Seminar**

June 10-11, 1985

**"U.S. Trade Policy—What Next?"**

Chairman of the Seminar: C. Michael Aho  
*Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations*

I. U.S. Trade Policy—A Current Assessment

Dinner Speaker: Robert S. Strauss  
*Partner, Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld*

Presider: Winston Lord  
*President, Council on Foreign Relations*

II. What Business Can Do To Improve U.S.-Japan Relations

Speaker: Kazuo Nomura  
*President, Sumitomo Electric U.S.A., Inc.*

III. International Business—A Corporate Perspective

Speaker: John L. Huck  
*President and Chief Operating Officer, Merck & Company*



*Paul Shrivastava, Zoltan Merszei, T. George Harris, Arthur Taylor and James Burke*

## The Corporate Program



*Malcolm Baldrige and Winston Lord*



*Helena Stalson and Robert S. Strauss*

### IV. Canada-U.S. Trade In a Multilateral Context

Speaker: Robert Johnstone

*Consul General of Canada, New York*

### V. Reflections on the U.S. Trade Mission to China, India, and the U.S.S.R.

Luncheon Speaker: Malcolm Baldrige

*Secretary, U.S. Department of Commerce*

Presider: Winston Lord

*President, Council on Foreign Relations*

## Corporate Program Meetings/Dinners/Luncheons

### *Speaker and Topic*

SIR JOHN BREMRIDGE

*Financial Secretary, Hong Kong*

"The Current Outlook for the Economy of Hong Kong"

KAZUO WAKASUGI

*Vice Minister, Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), Japan*

"A Conversation with the Vice Minister"

PAUL KREISBERG

*Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations*

"U.S. Relations with Asia in the 1990's"

LIONEL OLMER

*Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade, U.S. Department of Commerce*

"The U.S. Trade Deficit"

A.V. MELNIKOV

*Acting Soviet Trade Representative to the United States*

"Prospects and Opportunities for U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade"

### *Presider and Date*

Richard W. Wheeler

September 17, 1984

Dinner

Winston Lord

September 24, 1984

Luncheon

October 18, 1984

Luncheon

Paul Elicker

October 18, 1984

James H. Giffen

October 30, 1984

\* Joint Corporate Program/Council members' meeting



## The Corporate Program

<i>Speaker and Topic</i>	<i>Presider and Date</i>
WILLIAM HYLAND <i>Editor, Foreign Affairs</i> "U.S.-U.S.S.R. Relations"	December 13, 1984 Luncheon
PETER G. PETERSON* <i>Chairman, Peterson, Jacobs &amp; Company</i> "The Deficits—Domestic and External—The Dollar, The Debt: Are They Sustainable?"	Felix Rohatyn January 22, 1985
PETER G. PETERSON Dinner	Felix Rohatyn January 22, 1985
LIONEL OLMER <i>Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade, U.S. Department of Commerce</i> "U.S.-U.S.S.R. Trade Relations"	February 20, 1985 Dinner
ALAN GREENSPAN* <i>President, Townsend-Greenspan</i> "World Finance: The Driving Force of American Economic Policy"	Robert V. Roosa March 18, 1985
ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI <i>Senior Adviser, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University</i> "Key Issues in American Foreign Policy"	Winston Lord May 7, 1985
ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI Dinner	Winston Lord May 7, 1985

## The Library

**P**revious reports of the Library have customarily stated that the interests and pursuits of the Council set the pace for the seven of us who dwell in the information zone—the Council's program is our program, and good libraries are good business.

It is a pleasure to report this year that two highlights supersede business as usual. First, the acquisition of Nexis, our first automatic information-retrieval installation putting us, at long last, fully into the electronic world. It is already obvious that it will prove its worth the more it is used and will greatly enhance and augment the vast clipping files already established. As Nexis constantly revises its content and size so will our information services. The statistics in this area for 1984–85 were 25,000 clippings added, 911 folders borrowed, and 122 new folders opened.

The second highlight is the funding for the filming of clipping files, which are beginning to cause problems of space and deterioration. This will extend the time-frame of film holdings through 1966 and give us more space for current material.

We continue to be a depository library for United Nations and European Economic Community documents, and a weekly service supplies us with lists of U.S. government documents and hearings that are available. The ever-growing book and periodical collection is in constant use. Last year 918 volumes were added and 519 withdrawn; almost 2,400 books and documents were circulated; and 3,700 cards were added to the catalog. These figures do not include everyday use of reference materials, atlases, biographical dictionaries, language dictionaries, yearbooks, annual reports and daily newspapers, or the Council's archival material held in the Library and now opened to 1960.

Total inquiries again reached over 3,500 and with 38% of the outside calls coming from Corporate Program members. We urge all members of the Council to remember that the Library is here for your benefit.

A word about the Library professional staff both nostalgic and up-to-date. In this 40th anniversary year of the United Nations we like to remember that our founding librarian Ruth Savord served at the request of the State Department on the information team that worked with the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945.

We also work outside the Council in various ways. The Librarian continues to serve as a member of the Board of Trustees of METRO, and attended the SLA conference in June in Winnipeg, Canada. Janis A. Kreslins lectured on the history and book publishing of the Baltic countries at the New York Public Library and Western Michigan University. He also initiated the acquisition of microfilmed pre-World War I Baltic newspapers at Helsinki University Library by Harvard College Library.

I am indebted to the Library staff who are always so loyal and supportive. On their behalf and for myself may I add a word of tribute to our departing President, Winston Lord, whose mind and door were always open, who made us an integral part of the Council structure and, most of all, appreciated and made use of the Library.

Janet Rigney  
*Librarian*

## Development Activities

**D**uring the past year, the Council returned "to the well" twice in asking members to participate in Annual Giving and to support generously The Campaign for the Council, the \$14.5 million endowment drive that began in September, 1984, and ends on December 31, 1985.

In a year when members would receive a "double ask," the pessimists expressed concern that Annual Giving income would drop off significantly. Happily, this was not the case. Although Annual Giving donations did not increase to meet budgeted goals as the optimists had hoped, the total raised through Annual Giving during our Campaign for the Council year was approximately what had been donated in the two previous fiscal years.

In hindsight, analysis of our fund raising efforts for the past year indicate that the pragmatists were correct. They forecasted that members who previously contributed to Annual Giving would generously support The Campaign for the Council, but most of them would not increase their Annual Giving at the same time. Also, they were accurate in predicting that most members who had not previously donated to the Council would be slow to commit themselves to contribute either to Annual Giving or to endowment this year.

The good news is that Annual Giving participation now includes approximately half the membership; and, as of this writing in early August, The Campaign for the Council has reached \$14.1 million of its \$14.5 million campaign goal. A successful outcome by the end of the calendar year looks very favorable indeed.

To those many members who continue to honor our annual and special appeals for financial support, a thousand thanks on behalf of the Council, its directors, and staff.

For those members who have not participated, it will be necessary to remind them that the Council is a non-profit, non-partisan, membership orga-

nization. It is a fact of life for such organizations, as for the Council, that a strong and secure base of membership and endowment support is of critical importance in being able to plan, develop and carry out first-rate programs that benefit all members. We must effectively communicate that a member's "fair share" responsibility to the Council in maintaining its pre-eminent position in the study and debate of foreign policy is more than merely paying dues.

In addition to contributions from individual members and other friends, the Council received generous gift and grant support from corporations and foundations during this past year. The Board of Directors and Campaign for the Council Executive Committee are very grateful for the ready response from these institutions in support of our campaign. As well as helping achieve campaign objectives, grant support will be applied to specific study areas, thereby strengthening institutional relationships through program accomplishments.

### Development Office

The Development Office is responsible for conducting a comprehensive fund-raising program consisting of Annual Giving, Planned and Deferred Giving, foundation grant solicitations, and special capital and selective endowment campaigns.

Gifts and grants by members, corporations, foundations and other friends of the Council increased substantially over the past year. Total contributed income from all sources, including gifts of capital and endowment, amounted to \$4,502,600 for 1984-85, an impressive increase of \$2,198,900 or 95% over the \$2,303,700 contributed the previous fiscal year. (These results do not reflect income received from the Council's Corporate Program, which is wholly separate, and is covered on page 111, above.)

### Annual Giving

The importance of Annual Giving or contributed income from "annual guaran-

## Development Activities

tors" to use for annual operating expenses cannot be emphasized strongly enough. It is the lifeblood of most non-profit membership organizations, the Council included. Annual Giving in addition to dues is also a vote of confidence expressed by individual members about the Council's work.

It is very gratifying to note that since a formal Annual Giving program seeking funds from all members began in 1978-79, participation and donations have increased steadily from 21.6% and \$169,200 to 50% membership participation and \$379,300 contributed to the Council in 1984-85. A good deal of credit for the dramatic increase in donors and dollars over this period is due to the volunteer chairmen and their committee members who actively and effectively solicited fellow members for new and increased contributions.

The slight decrease of membership participation and donations from the previous year is an aberration from the trend and can mostly be attributed to the success of the Council's \$14.5 million endowment campaign, which began in September 1984.

The following statistics demonstrate the dramatic growth of membership participation and donations since 1978-79:

<b>Fiscal</b>	<b>Contributing Members</b>	<b>Contributed Support</b>
1978-79	422 or 21.6%	\$169,200
1979-80	512 25.2	\$251,900
1980-81	601 27.7	\$279,000
1981-82	862 40.3	\$290,922
1982-83	930 46.6	\$406,425
1983-84	1,060 50.1	\$387,971
1984-85	1,014 49.6	\$379,300

Annual Giving by members will continue to be the foundation of contributed support to the Council. I remain optimistic about my earlier projections and believe that members who pledge gifts to The Campaign for the Council but are not currently Annual Giving donors will resume their support, once campaign objectives are achieved and members

become involved in increasingly more dynamic Council activities.

The effective and successful work of the Annual Giving Committee was replaced this year by The Campaign for the Council Executive Committee. Campaign volunteers participating in all three phases of the endowment campaign assumed the responsibility of personally soliciting assigned Council members for endowment gifts and pledges to the Campaign.

Since Annual Giving income for operating purposes is essential to maintain current programs, Winston Lord as President of the Council agreed, without benefit of an Annual Giving Committee, to assume the added role of Chairman of Annual Giving for the past year and to write to Council members for new and renewed support.

The June 30, 1985, fiscal year and results indicate that 1,004 contributors donated \$379,300 to Annual Giving. This figure is a decrease of \$8,700, or 2%, from the previous fiscal year. In reality, members continued to make donations intended for the 1984-85 program year (after June 30, 1985), amounting to \$23,600. These gifts, falling into our 1985-86 fiscal year, cannot be officially recorded for accounting purposes. However, total income from members remains consistent with what has been donated for the past two fiscal years. Even so, Annual Giving did not meet our budgeted goal of \$450,000 this year and is considerably less than the \$555,000 trend projection indicated two years ago before embarking upon The Campaign for the Council.

### Special Grants and Gifts

During 1984-1985, the Council on Foreign Relations received special grants and matching gift contributions from corporations and foundations for a variety of Council projects, programs and purposes. Many of these granting institutions have participated in The Campaign for the Council and are listed as donors on the following section and are mentioned else-

where in the Annual Report. Without this support, the Council would be severely limited in the depth and breadth of its programs

The following organizations provided operating grant and gift support to the Council in 1984-85:

*Matching Gifts*

Chemical Bank  
Citibank/Citicorp  
Pfizer, Inc.  
The Prospect Hill Foundation  
Reader's Digest Foundation

*Council Program Grants*

Florence V. Burden Foundation  
Chase Manhattan Bank  
Conoco, Inc.  
Ford Foundation  
Foster Charitable Trust  
General Electric Foundation  
German Marshall Fund of the United States  
Grace Foundation  
IBM World Trade Americas/Far East Corporation  
Krön Chocolatier, Inc.  
The Henry Luce Foundation  
John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation  
The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation  
N.L. Industries Foundation  
National Endowment for the Humanities  
Rockefeller Brothers Fund  
Rockefeller Foundation  
Star Expansion  
Tinker Foundation  
Unilever United States, Inc.  
United States-Japan Foundation  
Xerox Foundation

**Capital Funds**

Over the past two decades, the Council has conducted selected capital fund drives to achieve certain objectives. We are pleased that as a result of one of the recent efforts and the generosity of donors who participated, the Council was able to expand its physical plant with the purchase of the two brownstones next door to the Harold Pratt House. In Jan-

uary 1984, the Council's newly renovated townhouses were ready for occupancy, although funds are still needed for the renovation costs. From a planning viewpoint, this could be visualized as the "bricks and mortar" phase of our more recent Council efforts. In this sense, the 1984-85 Campaign for the Council represents the "program development" phase, which complements, and could not have been implemented without, the generosity of contributors to these past capital drives.

Pledges to the John J. McCloy Endowment, established in 1977 to honor Mr. McCloy's outstanding services to the nation as well as his exceptional service to the Council over the years, now stand at \$1,862,388, with receipts of \$1,861,965 which now virtually concludes this campaign, but not our many thanks to the many friends who made possible this wonderful tribute to honor John J. McCloy.

During the past year, the Council's Capital Funds (exclusive of The Campaign for the Council) were augmented by gifts, including pledges and/or payments of earlier pledges, amounting to \$20,300. Additions to endowment were made through generous bequests from the estates of William Burden, William C. Foster Charitable Trust and Leo Model. Further payments and gifts to the Council's Building and Renovation Fund, initiated in 1979-80, were also recorded. In 1984-85, \$10,000 in outstanding pledges was paid to this fund, raising the total received to \$1,861,965.

Capital funds and endowment provide the means to expand facilities and develop new programs as well as financial security for the Council's future. For this financial support we are especially grateful to the members and friends who make these gifts possible.

**The Campaign for the Council**

The Council's reputation as a leading foreign policy research, study and membership organization has not been earned by taking the short view. Its perspective,

## Development Activities



*Campaign Executive Committee meeting: Peter G. Peterson and Douglas Dillon, above; Peter C. McColough, David Rockefeller, Winston Lord, John Swing and Lewis T. Preston, below.*



for over sixty years, has been on long-range planning and objectives, as well as keeping on top of breaking developments in foreign policy.

This same perspective must also be applied to how the Council is funded. From a practical point of view, the Council must be assured of long term financial security if it is to do sustained, coherent work.

Three years ago it became apparent that a number of circumstances warranted a major endowment campaign to provide financial and program security for this decade and beyond.

Annual income from dues, contributions, publications and limited investment income are all crucial, but by themselves they will not provide the means to significantly strengthen and develop new programs. The Council must have the means to attract senior fellows in certain areas of considered importance which were not receiving sufficient attention here. If the Council planned to expand its Studies Program and senior fellow staff, meetings program and membership services, and nascent but important national outreach objectives, increased endowment and long-term funding had to be secured.

The Campaign for the Council endowment drive was the result of a year-long process, begun with a feasibility study conducted by George A. Brakeley, Jr. of Brakeley, John Price Jones, Inc. and a "case statement" prepared by Council staff for the Board of Directors to review, discuss and act upon. In February 1983, the Board approved a \$14.5 million campaign goal. David Rockefeller and Douglas Dillon assumed responsibility as Co-Chairmen with C. Peter McColough, Chairman of Xerox Corporation, agreeing to manage the conduct of the Campaign as Campaign Chairman. At the same time, the following Council members agreed to serve on the Campaign Executive Committee:

George S. Franklin  
Richard L. Gelb  
Peter G. Peterson

Lewis T. Preston  
Frederick P. Rose  
S. Bruce Smart, Jr.  
Stephen Stamas  
Cyrus R. Vance  
Martha R. Wallace  
Walter B. Wriston  
Winston Lord  
John Temple Swing

The Campaign officially began in September, 1983, with leadership gifts donated by the Board of Directors, former directors, and other close friends of the Council family.

In April 1984, 100 Council members agreed to be Phase II solicitors for the Campaign. A series of orientation meetings were conducted in early fall 1984. In January, 1985, approximately 100 other members agreed to be Phase III volunteers to follow-up campaign appeals with personal telephone calls to other members.

In all, approximately 250 Council members participated in The Campaign for the Council, which will officially end on December 31, 1985. As of this writing in early August, \$14.1 million in gifts and pledges have been received. A final report of The Campaign for the Council listing the names of volunteers and donors will be prepared and mailed to members following the conclusion of the Campaign. As a small token of its deep gratitude, the Council will provide full donor recognition and a special memento will be given to all contributors in appreciation for their generosity and participation in the Campaign.

Meanwhile, a partial list of donors, including only the names of individuals, corporations and foundations who have made gifts or pledges totaling \$10,000 or more to the Campaign, follows:

#### *Individuals*

Agnelli, Giovanni  
Altman, Roger C.  
Anonymous  
Armand G. Erpf Fund

## Development Activities

Auletta Armenise, Giovanni  
 Ball, George W.  
 Barber, Perry O., Jr.  
 Batkin, Alan R.  
 Beinecke, William S.  
 Breck, Henry R.  
 Cowles, Gardner  
 David-Weill, Michel  
 Davis, Marvin  
 Debs, Mr. and Mrs. Richard  
 Dillon, Douglas  
 Ellsworth, Robert F.  
 Eweson, Dorothy  
 Fenster, Stephen  
 Fisher, Pieter A.  
 Franklin, George S.  
 Fribourg, Michel  
 Friedman, Stephen  
 Gelb, Richard L.  
 Gordon, Albert  
 Graham, Katharine  
 Gutfreund, John  
 Gyllenhammar, Pehr G.  
 Harriman, Averell  
 Harris, Irving B.  
 Haskins, Caryl P.  
 Heinz, H.J., II  
 Hewitt, William A.  
 Hoch, Frank W.  
 Irwin, John N., II  
 Irwin, John N., III  
 Jacobs, Eli S.  
 Kellen, Stephen M.  
 Labouisse, Henry  
 Leslie, John E.  
 Lindsay, George N.  
 Lipper, Kenneth  
 Littlefield, Edmund  
 Lord, Winston  
 Lovelace, Jon B.  
 McColough, C. Peter  
 Moore, Maurice T.  
 Noyes, Charles Phelps  
 O'Neill, Mr. and Mrs. George D.  
 Offit, Morris W.  
 Olayan, Suliman S.  
 Oppenheimer, Harry  
 Palmieri, Victor  
 Peterson, Peter G.  
 Petty, John R.  
 Picker, Harvey  
 Pincus, Lionel I.

Power, Philip H.  
 Preston, Lewis T.  
 Puckett, Dr. Allen E.  
 Quigley, Leonard V.  
 Reed, Annette  
 Reed, Philip D.  
 Reed, Joseph V.  
 Rockefeller Bros. Fund  
 Rockefeller, David  
 Rockefeller, David, Jr.  
 Rockefeller, Laurance  
 Rockefeller, Mrs. John III  
 Rockefeller, Mrs. Margaret  
 Rogers, William D.  
 Rose, Daniel  
 Rubin, Robert M.  
 Rupart, Anton  
 Ryan, John T. Jr.  
 Salomon, Richard E.  
 Salomon, William R.  
 Smart, S. Bruce, Jr.  
 Spencer, David  
 Stanton, Frank  
 Stevenson, Ruth Carter  
 Tempelsman, Maurice  
 Thomas, Lee Jr.  
 Vance, Cyrus R.  
 Watson, Thomas J., Jr.  
 Weil, Frank A.  
 Whitehead, John C.  
 Wolfensohn, James D.  
 Wriston, Walter B.  
 Zilkha, Ezra K.

### *Foundations*

Amax Foundation  
 Arthur Vining Davis Foundations  
 Booth Ferris Foundation  
 Cummins Engine Foundation  
 John Deere Foundation  
 Dewitt Wallace Fund #3  
 Engelhard Foundation  
 Firestone Charitable Annuity Trust  
 Ford Foundation  
 German Marshall Fund of the United States  
 Hearst Foundation  
 McKnight Foundation  
 Mellon Foundation  
 Rockefeller Foundation  
 Schlumberger Foundation



Starr Foundation  
Wattis Foundation

*Corporations*

Agip Petroleum Corp.  
American Can Co.  
American Express Co.  
Arabian American Oil Co.  
Arizona Republic/Phoenix Gazette  
AT&T  
Atlantic Richfield Co.  
Bankers Trust Co.  
Barclays Bank PLC  
Bechtel Group, Inc.  
Bristol-Myers Co.  
CBS, Inc.  
Chase Manhattan Bank  
Chemical Bank  
Citibank  
Continental Group, Inc.  
Corning Glass Works  
Dillon Read & Co., Inc.  
Dow Chemical Co.  
Dow Jones & Co.  
E.I. Dupont De Nemours  
Exxon Corporation  
Ford Motor Co.  
General Electric Co.  
General Foods Corp.  
General Motors  
Goldman, Sachs & Co.  
H. J. Heinz Co.  
IBM Corp.  
Johnson & Johnson Co.  
Lazard Freres & Co.  
Manufacturers Hanover Trust  
Marine Midland Bank  
Mercedes-Benz of N.A., Inc.

Mine Safety Appliances Co.  
3M  
Mobil Corp.  
Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.  
Morgan Stanley, Inc.  
Northrop Corp.  
Owens/Corning Fiberglass  
Paine Webber  
Peat, Marwick Mitchell  
Pepsico, Inc.  
Price Waterhouse  
Procter & Gamble  
RCA Corp.  
Rockefeller Group  
Salomon Bros.  
SCM Corp.  
United Technologies  
Xerox Corp.

**In summary**

- The “bottom line” of \$4,502,600 in contributed support to the Council makes 1984–85 a record breaking year.
- Annual Giving, while not increasing, held its own.
- Corporate and foundation gift and grant support increased.
- The \$14.5 million Campaign for the Council is nearly completed and will possibly have achieved its goal by the time members read this report.

To the many members and other friends who have helped make all this possible, thank you for your generous support.

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Eugene J. Sullivan	Leroy S. Wehrle	
William H. Sullivan	Edith Brown Weiss	
Walter Sterling Surrey	Herman B. Wells	
Leo A. Suslow	Francis M. Wheat	

## Administration

**I**n the early fall of 1984, the renovation of the Council's newly acquired buildings, 52 and 54 East 68th Street, was completed, and the staff is now housed and fully operational throughout both the old and new buildings. As noted in the 1983-84 report, two floors in the new buildings have been rented to the Center for African Art, and at present we see no immediate need to reclaim this space for our own use. However, the imminent completion of The Campaign for the Council will give us the financial resources to expand the Studies Program, and possibly the Meetings Program as well, and in future years we may need to reassess our space needs once again.

### Computerization

The Council's new mini-computer is now being utilized at almost full capacity. Since we contemplate putting our records for the Business Office, Personnel, Corporate Program and Committees on Foreign Relations on the computer in the near future, we may have to expand the computer's capacity. The computerization of our Membership, Development, Meetings and Studies records has given us an enormous edge on managing the vast amount of paperwork generated by Council activities. The decision to move forward in using this new technology has significantly increased our ability to meet our future needs with confidence and efficiency.

### Personnel

As is our custom, this section of the report is not intended to be comprehensive, but serves rather to highlight briefly the comings and goings of staff members who are known to our members.

Helena Stalson, Senior Fellow and Economist, retired from the staff in June 1985 after a long and productive career at the Council. I will not attempt to recount her myriad intellectual contributions here, but I cannot let the opportunity pass to say that her substantive knowledge, her tireless energy, her insistence

on high ethical standards, and her genuine devotion to the Council and its staff will be cherished by all who know her.

This year also marked the retirement of Emilio Mesa, the Council's steward for the past 10 years. Emilio is well known to members for his seemingly effortless ability to anticipate and respond to the many demands made upon him year in and year out. His role is key to the smooth functioning of Council meetings, and he performed cheerfully and efficiently no matter what stresses and strains we placed upon him. We wish him a long, happy and fulfilling retirement.

Although technically not a member of the staff, many members came to know John Healy in his capacity as consultant to The Campaign for the Council. With the Campaign nearing completion, John left at the end of June to turn to other challenges. We owe him our gratitude and deep thanks for his unswerving efforts to strengthen our financial base.

In the Studies department, we welcomed Alan Romberg to the staff as Senior Fellow for Asian Affairs in March of 1985. Having spent the past twenty years in the Department of State, Alan was most recently Senior Deputy Spokesman for the State Department, 1981-85. Through the generous grant of the Starr Foundation to The Campaign for the Council, Alan is the first Starr Fellow for Asian Studies.

In August 1985, Dorothy Sobol joins the staff as Senior Fellow in Economics. Prior to joining the Council, Dorothy spent the last seven years as an Economist working with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, most recently as chief of the research departments for the Fed's International Financial Markets and the Developing Economies Divisions. Her expertise will complement the trade project studies being undertaken by C. Michael Aho, Senior Economics Fellow, who joined the staff in November of 1984.

Later in the fall, the Council will welcome Paul Jabber to its ranks as Senior Fellow for Middle East Studies. He



has served as Vice President of the Political Assessment group in the International Department of Bankers Trust Company and as consultant on Middle East politics and security affairs to government agencies and U.S. and multinational corporations.

On the *Foreign Affairs* staff, Mark Uhlig, Associate Editor under both William Bundy and William Hyland, has left to become Foreign Editor of *The New York Times Magazine*. On the magazine's business side, Eldridge Greening came on board in April as Advertising Director. Gus has an extensive advertising and financial background, and was most recently Advertising Manager of *The Economist*.

As all of you know, Winston Lord has resigned the Presidency of the Council as of June 1985. John Temple Swing, the Council's Vice President and Secretary, was named by the Board to be Act-

ing President until a successor to Winston can be found. Winston's magnificent and highly personal leadership of the Council has strengthened us immeasurably to meet the challenges of the future. With the approaching completion of The Campaign for the Council, his stewardship leaves us financially and substantively poised for the continuance and expansion of the Council's programs. His contribution cannot be measured solely in his vision for the Council's future role and in setting and shaping its agenda. His contribution must also be measured in the personal legacy he has left to the staff. Our affection and respect for his warm and sensitive approach to the internal as well as the external problems of the Council is deep and abiding. We wish him Godspeed.

Doris Elizabeth Forest  
*Director of Administration*



*Members' reception for Winston Lord*

## Finances—An Overview

**T**his was the year of The Campaign for the Council, the most significant capital fund drive ever conducted by or for the organization in its 64-year history. As reported elsewhere, pledges to The Campaign for the Council during the year rose from \$2,849,200 at the beginning of the fiscal year to \$9,128,600 as of June 30. Since many pledges are payable over a period up to five years, payments on pledges actually received during the year were \$3,124,400, bringing the total pledges received to date to \$4,042,500.

This inflow of new capital, together with reinvested income not needed to satisfy the 5% draw (explained in detail below), and market appreciation of almost four million dollars, less capital fund expenditures of \$347,000, boosted the market value of the Council's investment portfolio from \$20,890,000 to \$27,866,300, a healthy gain of \$6,976,300 for the year. The effect of all this on the Council's long-term fiscal health can only be viewed as highly salutary, making a significant contribution to the Council's long-term goal of covering increased expenditures by increased income and thereby coming close to, if not always achieving, balanced budgets.

What about performance in the the shorter term, more specifically during the fiscal year that ended June 30, 1985? Despite the fact that general fund expenditures rose by 7.2%, from \$6,322,600 to \$6,778,300, total funding rose 9.3%, from \$6,144,800 to \$6,718,900, resulting in an operating deficit of \$59,400—less than 1% of total expenditures—which is about a third of the deficit of \$177,800 realized in the previous fiscal year, and less than a fourth of the \$253,000 deficit for the year prior to that.

While this marks the second year in a row in which deficits, already small in percentage terms, were further reduced, the important comparison is between the composition of the Council's current funding and the situation that existed during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Although the Council regularly achieved

nominally balanced budgets during the earlier period, this achievement would not have been possible without the help of outside, one-time, term funding, largely from foundations. In the fiscal year that ended June 30, 1972, for example, 49.8% of total funding was made up of such non-recurring one-time grants. In the fiscal year just ended, on the other hand, only 13.8% of total funding came from such grants. Last year that figure stood at 11.2%. The more important figure to watch, however, is what proportion of the core program expenditures of \$6,059,000 was supported by such one-time non-recurring grants. During the year just ended, that figure was a relatively safe 3.7%.

By way of explanation, it will be remembered that since 1971, at the Board's direction, the program budget has been divided for conceptual purposes into two principal but differing areas: the "core program" and "specially funded programs". It has been the Board's objective for the past fourteen years to increase core program recurring funds sufficiently to defray core expenditures in order to assure both financial independence and long-term stability.

### Core Program Funding

Core program activities are those deemed essential to the Council's continuing operation. They include its meetings programs for members, corporations, and its thirty-eight affiliated committees; its program of study and discussion groups; and its publications, especially *Foreign Affairs*. Core program "recurring funds" are those funding sources that can be anticipated to remain reasonably constant from year to year. These include income from members' dues, Annual Giving from individual members, corporate subscriptions, the sale of publications (principally *Foreign Affairs*), and an annual appropriation from the Council's investment fund (which equals 5% of the average market value of its portfolio as measured on March 31 of each of the three previous years.)

Only one category of core funding failed to show an increase over the previous year's total: Annual Giving from individual members. Although the shortfall of \$8,700 from last year's figure of \$388,000 seems hardly significant, when compared with budget projections at the beginning of the year, perhaps optimistically set at \$555,000, it clearly is significant. In retrospect, it is now clear that while The Campaign for the Council had the happy result already noted in adding to the capital account, it affected Annual Giving adversely. At least part of the trouble is that many regular Annual Giving donors who might have renewed or even increased their gifts did not do so, either because they had already given to The Campaign for the Council or were about to be asked to do so and thus were not asked to renew or increase their annual gifts in time for the end of the fiscal year. Had Annual Giving grown by even half of the difference between last year's actual and this year's original Annual Giving objective, the Council would have ended the year with a balanced budget.

In turning to the brighter side of the picture, perhaps the most gratifying increase in core funding over the previous year was in the annual appropriation from the Council's investment fund under the 5% formula described above. Thanks in part to the sharp increase in portfolio market values in the previous year, and the additions already noted during the current year, that appropriation increased by \$118,400, a rise of 14.9%. Income from *Foreign Affairs* also rose \$44,100 over the previous year to a new record total of \$2,095,300. Net subscriptions to the Corporate Program did increase by \$29,000 over the previous year, bringing in a total of \$1,060,800. This was, however, some \$74,200 less than anticipated, in part due to subscriptions lost because of mergers, or reduced, or even canceled because of continued poor performance in certain segments of the economy.

Considered as a whole, core program funding increased from \$5,517,600 to a new record total of \$6,016,800, a 9%

rise over the previous year's total.

### **Core Program Expenditures**

Core expenditures during the last year rose by \$425,400 (from \$5,633,600 or 7.6%) across the board. The rate of increase declined for the second year in a row. In fiscal 1984 the rate had been 7.8% and, in the previous year, 13.1%. In most areas where expenditures increased, they did so at just slightly above the inflation rate as measured by the consumer price index. In some areas overall expenses in fact declined, for instance, *Foreign Affairs* by \$6,500.

Worthy of particular note is the studies area. While overall expenses increased only slightly (\$19,100) over the previous year's total of \$715,800, the proportion of these expenditures being funded by term grants, primarily received as part of The Campaign for the Council, rose sharply over the previous year. In fiscal 1984 that proportion stood at \$58,600 or 8.2%; in the year just ended, at \$183,900 or 25%. While term grants obviously help in the short run, it is stating the obvious to observe that in future years when such grants run out, programs, or projects supported by them will either have to be terminated or funded by other new sources of income if the Council is to continue its quest to maintain balanced budgets.

### **Specially Funded Programs**

In addition to its ongoing core program activities, the Council from time to time undertakes special programs or projects that require outside funding to defray their direct operating expenditures. During the year ended June 30, 1985, the principal activity requiring special outside funding continued to be the International Affairs Fellowship Program. The entire program expenditure of \$346,200 was covered by outside grants, primarily from the Ford, MacArthur and Mellon Foundations, and the National Endowment for the Humanities, for which we are most grateful.

Expenditures for the Council's Latin

## **Finances—An Overview**

American Project, directed by Susan Purcell, came to \$119,500, of which \$108,700 was funded by grants primarily from foundations, principally the Ford and Mellon Foundations. Expenditures for the European-American Project, under the direction of Andrew Pierre, came to \$72,600, of which \$66,000 was funded by grants from the Rockefeller and Mellon Foundations and the German Marshall Fund. During the year, the Council's new Senior Fellow for Economics, Michael Aho, launched a special project on the future of the world trading system, with the aid of generous grants from the General Motors and Rockefeller Foundations, the latter received just after the end of the fiscal year. Project expenses during the year came to \$62,100, all of which was funded by the foundation grant noted above.

Most of the other special programs, such as the project on African Development Strategies being conducted jointly with the Overseas Development Council, and the smaller projects such as those dealing with Canada and Japan, were fully funded by foundation grants.

Taken as a whole, specially funded program expenditures during the year came to \$719,400, while available outside funding came to \$702,200, leaving an overall deficit of \$17,200, to be absorbed by Council operating funds. The effect of this deficit, which was almost \$44,500 less than last year's, was to raise what would have been a small core program deficit of \$42,200 to the overall deficit figure of \$59,400, as noted above.

In conclusion, it is worth observing, the distinction between specially funded programs and projects described above and the substantive work being carried on by the Studies Program as part of the Council's on-going core program is not always readily apparent. The guiding principle dividing the two is that specific projects which the Council could or would undertake only when specially funded by outside sources are assigned to the specially funded programs area. Work that would normally be carried on,

on a continuing basis, as part of the core program is kept under that heading, even though in the short term it may be partially or fully funded by short-term non-recurring grants. The main thing to be kept in mind is that, over the long term, the Council will be better off if all work that is properly part of the ongoing core Studies Program is fully funded by ongoing "recurring" core funds.

### **Investment Portfolio Management and the Council's Capital Account**

For the past 14 years, management of the Council's investment portfolio has been equally divided between two outside counseling firms, whose performance is monitored regularly by the Finance and Budget Committee. Since May 1984, one of the two firms has been Rieger, Robinson, Harrington, Inc., although its principal, L. George Rieger, had in fact managed the account for the previous decade while working for other firms. The other firm is T. Rowe Price Associates, Inc. of Baltimore, Maryland, with L. Gordon Croft having been the principal manager since August 1979.

It has already been pointed out above that the market value of the combined portfolio reached a new record high on June 30 of \$27,866,300, an increase of 33.4% over the previous year-end total of \$20,890,000. For their contribution to this increase, the Council can be pleased with the performance of both its portfolio managers.

At the same time, earned income on the combined portfolio rose to a new record high of \$1,599,000. This figure is significant in that earned income ran ahead of the combined total withdrawal from the portfolio during the past year both under the Council's 5% formula (\$985,800) and the amount needed to cover the operating deficit of \$59,400 which together came to \$1,045,200, thus leaving a balance of \$553,800 (exclusive of investment fees) that was added to the portfolio as new principal. This in turn is significant in that, over and above the inflow of new capital or portfolio market

value gains, which cannot always be counted on, reinvested income resulting from the application of the Council's 5% formula represents the one sure long-term hedge against future inflation. It should be remembered that, even were inflation to remain at the relatively low rate of 4% during the fiscal 1986 year, to maintain the constant dollar value of the portfolio it will be necessary to add some \$1,116,000, whether in the form of reinvested income or gains in market value. During the past year, additions to capital

in the form of reinvested income and market appreciation (but excluding additions of new capital) more than outstripped the inflation rate. This was not true, however, during the decade of the '70s, and it may not be true in the future. It is for this reason that the Council's 5% formula is so important to its long term financial security.

John Temple Swing  
*Acting President*

## Comptroller's Report

The pages that follow set forth the statements of income, expenses, and changes in fund balances for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1985, and also the Council balance sheets as of that date, as audited by the Council's independent accountants, Ernst & Whinney. On the income statement and balance sheets, totals for all funds for the year are compared with corresponding totals for the year ending June 30, 1984.

The presentation of data in the financial reports conforms with generally accepted accounting principles established for not-for-profit organizations.

As will be seen from Note 1 to the financial statements, investments are carried at cost or, if donated, at market value at date of contribution. When the market value declines below the carrying value and when such securities may not be held for a sufficient period of time to be offset by market value increases, a reserve for the decline in the market is provided. For the current year ended June 30, 1985, as was also true for the prior year, the market value of the portfolio remained in excess of cost, making such reserves unnecessary.

Core program expenditures for the year came to \$6,059,000. With the specially-funded program deficit of \$17,200 included, expenditures for the year charged to the general fund were \$6,076,200. To help defray these general fund expenditures, core program funds contributed a total of \$5,794,500 in so called "recurring funds" (i.e., funds that can be expected to continue at somewhat varied amounts on a year-in, year-out basis). "Non-recurring funds," composed of one-time grants which are not likely to be renewed, contributed \$222,300 to the general fund.

One of the more important so-called "recurring funds" is the transfer from the investment fund (appearing below the line). Under the Council's so-called 5% formula, described in Note 3, the amount of the transfer budgeted for the year was \$911,200. Taken together with the total

of recurring and non-recurring funds noted above, total general funding for the year came to \$6,016,800, falling some \$59,400 short of the total \$6,076,200 expenditures for the year, with the consequent deficit of the same amount. This deficit represented a further charge to the investment fund over and above the investment fund transfer noted above.

There is one other item to which I would like to draw the reader's attention. The Council has long followed the practice of charging depreciation, prorated for the number of years of useful life of each item in the depreciation schedule, as an item of annual expense. For the year that ended June 30, 1985, total depreciation stood at \$818,800 an increase over last year's total of \$622,800. The principal items of depreciation are \$117,700 for buildings and improvements, \$57,500 for the Council's new Wang VS 90 computer and Wang word processors (spread over 7 years), and \$16,100 for the Council's new Rolm telephone system (spread over 10 years).

More detailed information about the Council's finances is available to any member on request.

R. Carolyn Witherspoon  
*Comptroller*

## Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. Balance Sheets

	June 30,						1985	1984
	Core Program							
	General Fund	Investment Fund	Building Fund	Total	Restricted Investment Fund	Specially Funded Programs	Total All Funds	Total All Funds
<b>Assets</b>								
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 569,800	\$ 394,800		\$ 964,600	\$ 70,900	\$1,610,200	\$ 2,645,700	\$ 1,824,900
Investments (Notes 1 and 2)	4,100	19,423,600		19,427,700	4,868,800		24,296,500	20,576,700
Accounts receivable and prepaid expenses	299,800	208,400		508,200			508,200	482,100
Due to (from) funds		75,300	\$(75,300)					
Grants receivable	700,000			700,000		166,100	866,100	358,700
Inventories, at lower of cost or market	162,600			162,600			162,600	96,500
Land, buildings and equipment (Note 4)	4,705,700			4,705,700			4,705,700	4,752,200
<b>Total Assets</b>	<b>\$6,442,000</b>	<b>\$20,102,100</b>	<b>\$(75,300)</b>	<b>\$26,468,800</b>	<b>\$4,939,700</b>	<b>\$1,776,300</b>	<b>\$33,184,800</b>	<b>\$28,091,100</b>
<b>Liabilities and Fund Balances</b>								
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 389,100	\$ 11,300		\$ 400,400			\$ 400,400	\$ 840,500
Deferred subscriptions and membership dues	1,119,600			1,119,600			1,119,600	1,005,100
Contributions designated for future periods	750,300			750,300		1,730,300	2,480,600	1,469,600
<b>Total Liabilities</b>	<b>2,259,000</b>	<b>11,300</b>		<b>2,270,300</b>		<b>1,730,300</b>	<b>4,000,600</b>	<b>3,315,200</b>
<b>Fund Balances:</b>								
Unrestricted	4,183,000	20,090,800	(75,300)	24,198,500			24,198,500	20,075,100
Restricted					4,939,700	46,000	4,985,700	4,700,800
<b>Total Fund Balances</b>	<b>4,183,000</b>	<b>20,090,800</b>	<b>(75,300)</b>	<b>24,198,500</b>	<b>4,939,700</b>	<b>46,000</b>	<b>29,184,200</b>	<b>24,775,900</b>
<b>Total Liabilities and Fund Balances</b>	<b>\$6,442,000</b>	<b>\$20,102,100</b>	<b>\$(75,300)</b>	<b>\$26,468,800</b>	<b>\$4,939,700</b>	<b>\$1,776,300</b>	<b>\$33,184,800</b>	<b>\$28,091,100</b>

See notes to financial statements.

## Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

### Statements of Income, Expenses and Changes in Fund Balances

For the years ended June 30,

	General Fund	Core Program			Restricted Investment Fund	Specially Funded Programs
		Unrestricted Investment Fund	Building Fund	Total		
<b>Income</b>						
Membership dues	\$ 858,900			\$ 858,900		
Contributions from members	379,300			379,300		
Corporate subscriptions and contributions	1,060,800			1,060,800		
Foundation and other contributions and grants	183,900			183,900		\$ 648,700
Capital fund drive contributions		\$ 3,124,400	\$ 159,500	3,283,900		
Publication of "Foreign Affairs"	2,095,300			2,095,300		
Committees on Foreign Relations	122,600			122,600		
Miscellaneous income	37,800			37,800		
Investment income	63,200	1,360,300		1,423,500	\$ 295,700	111,800
Net gain (loss) on sale of securities	(300)	760,300		760,000	179,500	
Rental income	166,900			166,900		
<b>Total Income</b>	<b>4,968,400</b>	<b>5,245,000</b>	<b>159,500</b>	<b>10,372,900</b>	<b>475,200</b>	<b>760,500</b>
<b>Expenses</b>						
Direct program expenses:						
Meetings program for members and corporations	808,500			808,500		28,200
Committees on Foreign Relations	178,600			178,600		
Research and studies program	564,600			564,600	55,300	3,400
Ford research	111,600			111,600		
Other operating programs	50,900			50,900	43,100	
Publication of "Foreign Affairs"	2,043,100			2,043,100		
Other publications	153,200			153,200		6,800
Library	241,500			241,500		
International Affairs Fellowship						346,200
U.S.-Japan and Canadian programs and Soviet Project						3,600
Latin American program						119,500
Economic Project						62,200
Africa Project and Indian Conference						51,000
European-American Project						72,600
Non-Proliferation Project						64,300
Total program services	4,152,000			4,152,000	98,400	757,800
Supporting services:						
General support services	147,400			147,400		
Physical plant and supplies—Pratt House	416,700			416,700		
Physical plant and supplies—Annex	282,700		16,100	298,800		
Central administration	722,200	76,400		798,600		
Fund development	83,100	347,000		430,100		
Corporate development	118,000			118,000		
Refund of real estate taxes			(33,500)	(33,500)		
Total supporting services	1,770,100	423,400	(17,400)	2,176,100		
Provision for vacation pay	16,000			16,000		
Provision for real estate taxes						
<b>Total Expenses</b>	<b>5,938,100</b>	<b>423,400</b>	<b>(17,400)</b>	<b>6,344,100</b>	<b>98,400</b>	<b>757,800</b>
Excess (deficiency) of income over expenses	(969,700)	4,821,600	176,900	4,028,800	376,800	2,700
Transfers (Note 3)	953,300	(858,700)		94,600	(111,800)	17,200
Transfer of Building Fund	36,300	(1,638,800)	1,602,500			
Increase (decrease) in fund balances	19,900	2,324,100	1,779,400	4,123,400	265,000	19,900
Fund balances, beginning of year	4,163,100	17,766,700	(1,854,700)	20,075,100	4,674,700	26,100
Fund balances, end of year	\$4,183,000	\$20,090,800	\$ (75,300)	\$24,198,500	\$4,939,700	\$ 46,000

See notes to financial statements.



**Notes to Financial Statements**

June 30, 1985 and 1984

1985	1984
Total All Funds	Total All Funds
\$ 858,900	\$ 834,200
379,300	388,000
1,060,800	1,031,800
832,600	599,300
3,283,900	1,316,400
2,095,300	2,051,200
122,600	101,000
37,800	30,400
1,831,000	1,637,300
939,500	2,155,700
166,900	33,700
11,608,600	10,179,000
836,700	779,200
178,600	167,100
623,300	715,800
111,600	
94,000	86,900
2,043,100	2,049,600
160,000	135,700
241,500	224,300
346,200	368,800
3,600	41,500
119,500	117,400
62,200	
51,000	20,900
72,600	89,800
64,300	50,600
5,008,200	4,847,600
147,400	205,100
416,700	321,400
298,800	218,300
798,600	646,300
430,100	412,500
118,000	109,200
(33,500)	
2,176,100	1,912,800
16,000	12,000
	(232,900)
7,200,300	6,539,500
4,408,300	3,639,500
4,408,300	3,639,500
24,775,900	21,136,400
\$29,184,200	\$24,775,900

*Note 1—Significant Accounting Policies:*

The Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. (Council) considers all contributions and grants to be available for unrestricted use unless specifically restricted by the donor or grantor. These contributions and grants are recorded as received, and amounts designated by the donor as applicable to future periods are deferred.

The Council follows the practice of capitalizing expenditures for land, buildings and equipment, and generally depreciates these assets on a straight-line basis over their estimated useful lives. (See Note 4.) The fair market value of donated property and equipment is similarly capitalized and depreciated. Depreciation expense was \$139,300 for fiscal 1984 and \$235,200 for fiscal 1985.

Investments are recorded at cost or, if donated, at market value at date of contribution. A reserve for decline in market value is provided when market value declines below carrying value and when such securities may not be held for a sufficient period of time to be offset by market value increases.

*Note 2—Investments:*

Investments are summarized as follows:

	Cost	Market Value
Equity securities	\$18,577,700	\$21,942,900
Bonds	4,777,000	4,981,600
Money Market Funds	941,800	941,800
Total at June 30, 1985	\$24,296,500	\$27,866,300
Total at June 30, 1984	\$20,576,700	\$20,890,000

At June 30, 1985, gross unrealized gains were approximately \$4,138,400 and gross unrealized losses were approximately \$773,200 pertaining to equity securities.

*Note 3—Funds:**Unrestricted Funds:*

The Council's core programs are operated primarily through the General Fund. The Investment Fund represents unrestricted amounts designated by the Council for investment purposes. Since 1968, the Council has followed a policy of transferring annually to the General Fund 5% of the average market value of the portfolio in the Investment Fund as measured on March 31 of the three previous years. For fiscal 1985, an additional \$59,400 above the 5% figure was transferred to the General Fund to offset the General Fund operating deficit. Funds paid in support of The Campaign for the Council are added to pooled investments as received. The target of this drive is \$14.5 million, primarily to strengthen the Studies Program.

*Restricted Investment Fund:*

These consist of ten funds to be used for core programs. The income from four of these funds is restricted by the donor to a particular use. Income

## Notes to Financial Statements

June 30, 1985 and 1984

from the other six funds is not so restricted; charges made to these six funds, shown as "Transfers of fund balances," result from application of the 5% formula, described above.

### *Specially Funded Programs:*

These are undertaken only when donations are made available to support them.

### *Note 4—Land, Buildings and Equipment:*

Land, buildings and equipment are summarized as follows:

	June 30		Estimated useful life
	1985	1984	
Land	\$1,292,300	\$1,292,300	
Buildings and improvements	3,176,300	3,118,200	10–55 years
Equipment	1,055,900	964,500	5–15 years
	5,524,500	\$5,375,000	
Less-accumulated depreciation	818,800	622,800	
	\$4,705,700	\$4,752,200	

### *Note 5—Retirement Plan:*

The Council has a defined contribution retirement plan covering substantially all employees. Payments, which are based upon a fixed percentage of each participating employee's salary, are made to an insurance company for premiums under annuity contracts purchased for each member of the plan. Expense of the plan was \$242,300 for fiscal 1984 and \$258,400 for fiscal 1985. Employees must contribute 2.5% of salary and have the option to contribute additional premiums on their own behalf.

### *Note 6—Income Taxes:*

The Council is a not-for-profit organization exempt from federal income taxes under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, except that it is subject to tax on unrelated business income, which has not been significant.

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## Report of Independent Accountants

Ernst & Whinney  
153 East 53rd Street  
New York, New York 10022  
212/888-9100

The Board of Directors  
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

We have examined the balance sheets of Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. as of June 30, 1985 and 1984, and the related statements of income, expenses and changes in fund balances for the years then ended. Our examinations were made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and, accordingly, included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly the financial position of Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., at June 30, 1985 and 1984, and the results of its operations and changes in its fund balances for the years then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a consistent basis.

*Ernst & Whinney*

New York, New York  
August 15, 1985

## By-Laws of the Council June 1985

### I

All members of the Council shall be elected by the Board of Directors. All members elected to the Council, other than those whose term of membership is limited by the conditions of their election, remain members until death, resignation or action under the last paragraph of this By-Law.

The Board of Directors may elect honorary members with such membership rights, excluding the right to vote in Council affairs, as the Board may designate.

In any fiscal year, the Board may elect up to fifty persons to five-year term membership. The terms and conditions of such membership shall be as prescribed by the Board, provided that no person shall be elected to such membership who is more than 34 years of age on January 1 of the year in which his or her election would take place, and that of the total number of persons elected each year no more than thirty shall be age 31 or over, and provided that so long as their term continues such members will have the full rights and privileges of Council membership.

The Board of Directors may establish such other special categories of membership having such rights and privileges, and subject to such conditions, as the Board may designate.

Of the total membership of the Council, the stated membership shall not exceed 1,900. Stated membership is defined as the total of those members who at the time of computation are under the age of 70, who are residing within the United States, and who are neither honorary members nor five-year term members. Of the stated membership, not less than one-third and not more than one-half shall be composed of resident members. A resident member is one whose residence or principal place of business is within fifty miles of City Hall in the Borough of Manhattan, City of New York. A Washington member is one whose residence or principal place of business is within 50 miles of the Capitol in the District of Columbia; all other members are non-resident. All members other than honorary members shall be citizens of the United States or permanent residents of the United States who have made application to become a citizen.

A member may be dropped or suspended from membership by a unanimous vote of those Directors attending a meeting

of the Board at which a quorum is present and voting, for any violation of the By-Laws or rules or regulations of the Board of Directors, or for any conduct even though not in actual violation of a By-Law or rule which, in the opinion of the Board, is nevertheless prejudicial to the best interests, reputation and proper functioning of the Council.

### II

It is an express condition of membership in the Council, to which condition every member accedes by virtue of his membership, that members will observe such rules and regulations as may be prescribed from time to time by the Board of Directors concerning the conduct of Council meetings or the attribution of statements made therein, and that any disclosure, publication, or other action by a member in contravention thereof may be regarded by the Board of Directors in its sole discretion as ground for termination or suspension of membership pursuant to Article I of the By-Laws.

### III

Members other than honorary members of the Council shall pay the following dues per annum:

	Washington			
	Resident		D.C.	
	Busi- ness	Non- Busi- ness	Busi- ness	Non- Busi- ness
Under 30	\$ 250	\$ 75	\$150	\$ 60
30-39	\$ 500	\$125	\$300	\$ 90
40 and Over	\$1,000	\$250	\$600	\$150

	Non-Resident	
	Busi- ness	Non- Busi- ness
Under 30	\$125	\$ 50
30-39	\$250	\$ 75
40 and Over	\$500	\$125

For purposes of this By-Law, non-business members are those who are regular members of the faculty of any accredited educational institution, who are in the public service, who are on the staff of a voluntary organization, or who are accredited writers, commentators, journalists or other media correspondents. All other members, except honorary members, are business members.

All dues shall be paid semi-annually in equal installments in advance. Default in the payment of any dues for a period of sixty days may be deemed to be equivalent to resignation.

#### IV

There shall be a Board of not more than twenty-five Directors. The President of the corporation shall be a Director, ex officio. The remaining members shall be divided into three equal classes, each class to serve for a term of three years and until their successors are elected and take office. At each Annual Election of the Council, Directors shall be elected to replace the outgoing class. Terms of Directors shall commence on the first day of September next following their election. No Director shall serve consecutively for more than three terms, provided however that the first term which shall be counted for the purpose of this rule shall be the three-year term beginning in the fall of 1971. A Director shall retire on the first day of September of the calendar year in which he or she reaches the age of seventy. Any Director who retires under this provision shall become a Director Emeritus. The Board shall have the power to fill any vacancy on its own body.

#### V

A. The Annual Meeting of Members shall be held in New York City as soon as practicable after the end of the fiscal year, as determined by the Chairman of the Board. At this meeting the Board of Directors shall present a report of the activities of the Council during the past year and such other business shall be considered as shall be brought forward by or with the sanction of the Board of Directors, and which shall have been stated in the notice convening the meeting.

A majority of the voting members of the Council shall constitute a quorum for the

transaction of business. Members may be represented by proxy.

B. The Annual Election of Directors of the Council shall be held at a meeting in New York City on a date set by the President or the Chairman of the Board within thirteen months of the preceding meeting at which Directors were elected. The Board of Directors shall be elected by ballot. Ballots will be mailed to all members in advance of the Annual Election and may be returned by mail or may be delivered in person or by proxy. The ballot shall contain (i) the name of each member who is nominated as a candidate by the Nominating Committee, (ii) the name of any member who is nominated by a petition signed by not less than ten members, and (iii) the name of any member who received not less than ten write-in votes in the preceding election. Members may cast one vote for each of as many candidates as there are vacancies to be filled on the Board, and the candidates with the highest number of votes will be declared elected as Directors. A majority of the voting members of the Council shall constitute a quorum at the Annual Election Meeting. Administrative details necessary to implement the Council's nomination and election procedures may be prescribed by the President in consultation with the Chairman.

#### VI

The Board shall constitute such committees as may from time to time be appropriate, including an Executive Committee, a Finance and Budget Committee, a Membership Committee, a Nominating Committee, and a Committee on Studies. Elections of Board members to committees shall be held at Annual Meetings of the Board, except that, on the nomination of the Chairman of the Board, a Director may be elected at any meeting of the Board to fill a committee vacancy.

The Executive Committee shall be composed of up to eight members of the Board. During intervals between meetings of the Board the Committee may exercise the powers of the Board to the extent permitted by law.

The Finance and Budget Committee shall be composed of five members of the Board. The Committee shall have the power to co-opt not to exceed five additional members. The Committee shall have general su-

## By-Laws of the Council

pervision of the investment of the funds of the Council and of its financial affairs, and shall present the budget at the Spring Meeting of the Board.

The Membership Committee shall be composed of five members of the Board. The Committee shall co-opt two members who shall not be members of the Board and who shall be under the age of 40 when co-opted and shall have power to co-opt four additional members of any age who are not members of the Board. All names proposed for membership in the Council shall be referred to the Committee for its consideration and the Committee shall submit to the Board its nominations for election to membership.

The Nominating Committee shall be composed of five members of the Board. No member of the Board shall serve on the Nominating Committee during any year in which he or she is eligible for reelection to the Board and, in such instance, the Chairman of the Board shall nominate another member of the Board to substitute for such person. The Committee shall present names for Directors, Officers and committee members. For the purpose of nominating candidates to stand for election to the Board, the Committee shall co-opt ten additional members who shall not be members of the Board. Members of the Nominating Committee shall serve single three-year terms so staggered that in each year at least one Board member and two non-Board members shall be elected or co-opted to the Committee, as the case may be. The Chairman of the Nominating Committee shall be selected by the Chairman of the Board from among the Board members on the Committee. Neither the Chairman of the Board nor the President shall be ex officio members of the Nominating Committee. Both in co-opting members to its own body and in nominating candidates for each year's Board election, the Nominating Committee is charged to keep in mind the need for diversity with regard to age, sex, race, geographical representation and professional background. In nominating candidates for each year's Board election, the Committee is also charged (i) to solicit the entire membership for the names of possible candidates and (ii) to nominate as many candidates as there are Board vacancies to be filled at the election.

The Committee on Studies shall be composed of five members of the Board. The Committee shall have power to co-opt not to exceed seven additional members at least five

of whom are not members of the Board. All suggestions relating to matters of research shall be referred to it, and it shall be responsible for the initiation of research projects. The Committee on Studies shall submit a report of its activities at the Annual Meeting of the Board.

Except as otherwise provided above, a co-opted committee member shall serve for such term as the committee co-opting him or her shall determine, and during such term shall have the same rights and obligations as other committee members.

## VII

The Officers of the corporation shall be a Chairman of the Board, a Vice Chairman, a President, one or more Vice Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer and such other Officers as in the Board's judgment may be required. The Board shall annually fix their compensation. The Chairman of the Board shall be elected for a term of three years, and shall be eligible for re-election as a Director for a fourth three-year term (notwithstanding the three-term limit, but not the age limit of Article IV) to enable the Chairman of the Board to complete the balance of an unexpired term as Chairman. The other Officers of the corporation shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors.

The Chairman of the Board, or in his or her absence the Vice Chairman, may call meetings of the Board and shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Directors.

The President, subject to the overall direction of the Board of Directors, shall be the Chief Executive Officer of the corporation.

The Vice Presidents in order of seniority shall discharge the duties of the President in his or her absence, and shall perform such other duties as from time to time shall be assigned them by the Board of Directors.

The Treasurer shall have custody of the funds of the corporation.

The Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the corporation, and shall keep its records.

## VIII

The Board shall appoint the Editor of *Foreign Affairs*, and the Director of Studies, if any, and shall annually fix their compensation.

#### **IX**

The funds of the corporation shall be invested by the Finance and Budget Committee or shall be deposited with trust companies or banking institutions designated by either the Board of Directors or the Finance and Budget Committee. Disbursements shall be made only upon checks or vouchers approved by any two of the following: the President, any Vice President, the Treasurer, the Comptroller, the Editor of *Foreign Affairs*, and such other employees of the corporation as may from time to time be designated by the Finance and Budget Committee.

#### **X**

The Annual Meeting of the Board shall be held as soon as practicable after the first day of September, as determined by the Chairman of the Board. One-third of the Directors

in Office shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Board.

#### **XI**

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting of the Board of Directors, provided notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a previous meeting or circulated in writing to the members of the Board not less than five days in advance.

#### **XII**

Any person made, or threatened to be made, a party to any action or proceeding, whether civil or criminal, by reason of the fact that he or she, his or her testator or intestate, is or was a Director or Officer of the Council, shall be indemnified by the Council, and the Council may advance his or her related expenses, to the full extent authorized or permitted by law.

## Rules, Guidelines and Practices

The following items describe important Rules, Guidelines and Practices of the Council on Foreign Relations, with which members should familiarize themselves.

### Rule on Foreign Policy Positions

It has been the policy of the Council since its origin, reconfirmed by resolution of the Board of Directors on September 11, 1973, that:

"The Council shall not take any position on questions of foreign policy and no person is authorized to speak, or purport to speak, for the Council on such matters."

### Rule on Non-Attribution

"The Council is a research and educational institution. Everyone who participates in a Council meeting is encouraged to use and disseminate ideas and information developed in the meeting. It is recognized, at the same time, that many Council guests and members are, by reason of their governmental or other institutional affiliations, subject to inevitable constraints upon their latitude to express opinions, take positions or offer tentative judgments on public affairs issues if they are speaking in a public forum or if their statements will be later attributed to them in public media or a public forum.

"Full freedom of expression is encouraged at Council meetings. Participants are assured that they may speak openly, as it is the tradition of the Council that others will not later attribute their statements to them in public media or forums or knowingly transmit them to persons who will. All participants are expected to honor that commitment.

"An appropriate officer of the Council may, however, by advanced announcement declare this Rule inapplicable in whole or in part to any particular Council meeting, except that no Council meeting shall be made generally open to the public or media except upon action by the Council's Board of Directors.

"Notwithstanding the above Rule, the Board of Directors may, from time to time, prescribe rules governing the subsequent release of any Council records."

While the substance of the above Rule has been in effect since the formation of the Council, its present formulation was adopted by the Board of Directors on June 6, 1977, on the recommendation of a special Advisory Panel on the Non-Attribution Rule. The

minutes of the June 6 meeting contain the following explanatory comments about the Rule:

"The report recognizes that 'media' and 'public forum' are vague terms. But they can nevertheless be rationally interpreted in the light of the purpose of the Rule. For example, the reformulation would make it legitimate for a U.S. government official to report by memo to his colleagues and superiors what he learned at a Council meeting. Similarly, the reformulation recognizes that a lawyer may give such a memo to his partners, or a corporate officer to other corporate officers. It would not be compliance with the reformulated Rule, however, for any meeting participant (i) to publish a speaker's statement in attributed form in a newspaper; (ii) to repeat it on television or radio, or on a speaker's platform, or in a classroom; or (iii) going beyond a memo of limited circulation, to distribute the attributed statement in a company or government agency newsletter. The language of the Rule also goes out of its way to make it clear that a meeting participant is forbidden knowingly to transmit the attributed statement to a newspaper reporter or other such person who is likely to publish it in a public medium. The essence of the Rule as reformulated is simple enough: participants in Council meetings should not pass along an attributed statement in circumstances where there is a substantial risk that it will promptly be widely circulated or published."

### Guidelines on Meetings

By resolution adopted on February 28, 1972, as subsequently amended, the Board of Directors has prescribed the following Guidelines governing Council meetings:

"The purpose of meetings sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations is to promote understanding of international affairs through the free interchange of ideas among participants.

"In order to encourage to the fullest a free, frank and open exchange of ideas in Council meetings, the Board of Directors has prescribed, in addition to the Non-Attribution Rule, the following guidelines. All participants in Council meetings are expected to be familiar with and adhere to these Guidelines.

"1. Since the Council invites guests representing many different viewpoints, since it selects topics regardless of, or because of,



their controversiality, and since there is a wide divergence of viewpoints among members, it is to be expected that Council meetings will sometimes be marked by sharp dispute.

"2. Meeting chairmen are expected to stimulate open expression of opinion by all participants and should not attempt to mute controversy or stifle differences of viewpoint where they exist. To this end it is the responsibility of chairmen to see to it that all viewpoints expressed are treated with respect and that parliamentary decorum is maintained.

"3. Principal speakers should expect to be questioned vigorously on any point relevant to their intellectual interest, experience or expertise in international affairs. It is recognized, however, that some speakers, particularly those holding official positions, may not feel free to answer some questions and, in such case, their declination will be respected."

Apart from the traditional meetings for spouses and for sons and daughters of the members, occasional meetings are also open

to guests of members. Guest privileges are for those who have special expertise or experience that relates directly to the meeting, as well as the general qualifications of potential candidates for Council membership. Members bringing guests should complete a "guest notice card" and acquaint them with the Council's non-attribution rule governing what is said at meetings.

#### **Archival Practice**

By resolution of the Council's Board of Directors, adopted December 17, 1974, all substantive records of the Council more than 25 years old are open for reference use during library hours at the Harold Pratt House, subject to the proviso that:

"As a condition of use, the officers of the Council shall require each user of Council records to execute a prior written commitment that he will not directly or indirectly attribute to any living person any assertion of fact or opinion based upon any Council record without first obtaining from such person his written consent thereto."

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## Officers and Directors, 1984–1985

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### Officers

David Rockefeller  
*Chairman of the Board*

Peter G. Peterson  
*Vice Chairman and Treasurer*

Winston Lord  
*President*

John Temple Swing  
*Vice President and Secretary*

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### Directors

Graham T. Allison Jr.  
Harold Brown  
Warren Christopher  
Richard L. Gelb  
Philip L. Geyelin  
Alan Greenspan  
Theodore M. Hesburgh  
Stanley Hoffmann  
Nicholas deB. Katzenbach

Lane Kirkland  
Juanita Kreps  
Winston Lord, *ex officio*  
C. Peter McColough  
Donald F. McHenry  
Peter G. Peterson  
Lewis T. Preston  
David Rockefeller

William D. Rogers  
Robert A. Scalapino  
Brent Scowcroft  
Stephen Stamas  
Cyrus R. Vance  
Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.  
Marina v.N. Whitman  
Walter B. Wriston

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### Honorary Officers and Directors Emeriti

William A. M. Burden  
Arthur H. Dean  
Douglas Dillon  
William C. Foster  
George S. Franklin

Caryl P. Haskins  
Joseph E. Johnson  
Grayson Kirk  
Henry R. Labouisse

John J. McCloy  
*Honorary Chairman*  
James A. Perkins  
Philip D. Reed  
Charles M. Spofford

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**Committees, 1984-1985**

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**Executive**

Warren Christopher  
Theodore M. Hesburgh  
Lane Kirkland  
C. Peter McColough

David Rockefeller, *Chairman*

Peter G. Peterson  
Lewis T. Preston  
Cyrus R. Vance

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**Finance & Budget**

Richard L. Gelb  
Peter G. Peterson  
Lewis T. Preston

C. Peter McColough, *Chairman*

Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.  
Walter B. Wriston

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**Membership**

Richard E. Beeman  
Robert F. Erburu  
Donald F. McHenry  
Juanita Kreps  
Brent Scowcroft

Theodore M. Hesburgh, *Chairman*

Joan E. Spero  
Stephen Stamas  
Fritz Stern  
Franklin A. Thomas  
R. James Woolsey

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**Nominating**

Henry G. Cisneros  
Ralph P. Davidson  
Richard W. Fisher  
George S. Franklin  
Suzanne Garment  
Philip L. Geyelin  
Marvin L. Goldberger

Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, *Chairman*

Robert S. Ingersoll  
James A. Joseph  
Joseph S. Nye, Jr.  
William D. Rogers  
Brent Scowcroft  
William W. Scranton  
Marina v.N. Whitman

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**Studies**

Graham T. Allison  
Suzanne Berger  
Harold Brown  
John C. Campbell  
Stanley Hoffmann  
Bernard Lewis

Marina v.N. Whitman, *Chairman*

William D. Rogers  
Robert A. Scalapino  
Richard H. Solomon  
Robert Solomon  
Cyrus R. Vance

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## Historical Roster of Directors and Officers

Isaiah Bowman	1921-50	Douglas Dillon *	1965-78
Archibald Cary Coolidge	1921-28	Henry R. Labouisse *	1965-74
Paul D. Cravath	1921-40	Robert V. Roosa	1966-81
John W. Davis	1921-55	Lucian W. Pye	1966-82
Norman H. Davis	1921-44	Alfred C. Neal	1967-76
Stephen P. Duggan	1921-50	Bill Moyers	1967-74
John H. Finley	1921-29	Cyrus R. Vance	1968-76, 1981-
Edwin F. Gay	1921-45	Hedley Donovan	1969-79
David F. Houston	1921-27	Najeeb E. Halaby	1970-72
Otto H. Kahn	1921-34	Bayless Manning	1971-77
Frank L. Polk	1921-43	W. Michael Blumenthal	1972-77, 1979-84
Whitney H. Shepardson	1921-66	Zbigniew Brzezinski	1972-77
William R. Shepherd	1921-27	Elizabeth Drew	1972-77
Paul M. Warburg	1921-32	George S. Franklin *	1972-83
George M. Wickersham	1921-36	Marshall D. Shulman	1972-77
Allen W. Dulles	1927-69	Martha Redfield Wallace	1972-82
R.C. Leffingwell	1927-60	Paul C. Warnke	1972-77
George O. May	1927-53	Peter G. Peterson	1973-83, 1984-
Wesley C. Mitchell	1927-34	Robert O. Anderson	1974-80
Owen D. Young	1927-40	Edward K. Hamilton	1974-83
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928-72	Harry C. McPherson, Jr.	1974-77
Charles P. Howland	1929-31	Elliot L. Richardson	1974-75
Walter Lippmann	1932-37	Franklin Hall Williams	1975-83
Clarence M. Woolley	1932-35	Nicholas deB. Katzenbach	1975-
Frank Altschul	1934-72	Paul A. Volcker	1975-79
Philip C. Jessup	1934-42	Theodore M. Hesburgh	1976-85
Harold W. Dodds	1935-43	Lane Kirkland	1976-
Leon Fraser	1936-45	George H. W. Bush	1977-79
John H. Williams	1937-64	Lloyd N. Cutler	1977-79
Lewis W. Douglas	1940-64	Philip L. Geyelin	1977-
Edward Warner	1940-49	Henry A. Kissinger	1977-81
Clarence E. Hunter	1942-53	Winston Lord	1977-
Myron C. Taylor	1943-59	Stephen Stamas	1977-
Henry M. Wriston	1943-67	Marina v.N. Whitman	1977-
Thomas K. Finletter	1944-67	C. Peter McColough	1978-
William A.M. Burden *	1945-74	Richard L. Gelb	1979-
Walter H. Mallory	1945-68	Graham T. Allison, Jr.	1979-
Philip D. Reed *	1945-69	William D. Ruckelshaus	1979-83
Winfield W. Riefler	1945-50	James Hoge	1980-84
David Rockefeller*	1949-85	George P. Shultz	1980-82
W. Averell Harriman	1950-55	William D. Rogers	1980-
Joseph E. Johnson *	1950-74	Walter B. Wriston	1981-
Grayson Kirk *	1950-73	Lewis T. Preston	1981-
Devereux C. Josephs	1951-58	Warren Christopher	1982-
Elliott V. Bell	1953-66	Alan Greenspan	1982-
John J. McCloy *	1953-72	Robert A. Scalapino	1982-
Arthur H. Dean *	1955-72	Harold Brown	1983-
Charles M. Spofford *	1955-72	Stanley Hoffmann	1983-
Adlai E. Stevenson	1958-62	Juanita Kreps	1983-
William C. Foster *	1959-72	Brent Scowcroft	1983-
Caryl P. Haskins *	1961-75	Clifton R. Wharton, Jr.	1983-
James A. Perkins *	1963-79	Donald F. McHenry	1984-
William P. Bundy	1964-74	B.R. Inman	1985-
Gabriel Hauge	1964-81	Jeane J. Kirkpatrick	1985-
Carroll L. Wilson	1964-79		

\* Directors Emeriti

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**Chairmen of the Board**

R.C. Leffingwell	1946-53	David Rockefeller	1970-
John J. McCloy	1953-70		

**Vice Chairmen of the Board**

Grayson Kirk	1971-73	Douglas Dillon	1976-78
Cyrus R. Vance	1973-76	Carroll L. Wilson	1978-79

**Presidents**

John W. Davis	1921-33	Henry M. Wriston	1951-64
George W. Wickersham	1933-36	Grayson Kirk	1964-71
Norman H. Davis	1936-44	Bayless Manning	1971-77
R.C. Leffingwell	1944-46	Winston Lord	1977-85
Allen W. Dulles	1946-50		

**Executive Directors**

Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1922-28	Walter H. Mallory	1927-59
Malcolm W. Davis	1925-27	George S. Franklin	1953-71

**Directors of Studies**

Percy W. Bidwell	1937-53	Abraham F. Lowenthal	1976-77
Philip E. Mosely	1955-63	John C. Campbell	1977-78
Richard H. Ullman	1973-76	Paul H. Kreisberg	1981-

**Editors of "Foreign Affairs"**

Archibald Cary Coolidge	1922-28	William P. Bundy	1972-84
Hamilton Fish Armstrong	1928-72	William G. Hyland	1984-

**Vice Presidents**

Paul D. Cravath	1921-33	Henry M. Wriston	1950-51
Norman H. Davis	1933-36	David Rockefeller	1950-70
Edwin F. Gay	1933-40	Frank Altschul	1951-71
Frank L. Polk	1940-43	Devereux C. Josephs	1951-52
R.C. Leffingwell	1943-44	David W. MacEachron	1972-74
Allen W. Dulles	1944-46	John Temple Swing	1972-
Isaiah Bowman	1945-49		

**Secretaries**

Edwin F. Gay	1921-33	Frank Altschul	1944-72
Allen W. Dulles	1933-44	John Temple Swing	1972-

**Treasurers**

Edwin F. Gay	1921-33	Elliott V. Bell	1952-64
Whitney H. Shepardson	1933-42	Gabriel Hauge	1964-81
Clarence E. Hunter	1942-51	Peter G. Peterson	1981-
Devereux C. Josephs	1951-52		

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## Council Publications

### Current Serial Publications

*Foreign Affairs*. Volumes 1–50, 1922–72, edited by Hamilton Fish Armstrong; Volumes 51–62, 1973–84, edited by William P. Bundy; Volumes 63–, 1984–, edited by William G. Hyland.  
*Political Handbook of the World* (annual). Volumes for 1927–67, 1970, 1975–81, 1982/83 (McGraw-Hill), 1984/85– (CSA Publications/ SUNY Binghamton).

### New Books

*The Nuclear Controversy: A Foreign Affairs Reader*, edited by William P. Bundy (New American Library/Meridian, 1985). Paperback.  
*American Hostages in Iran: The Conduct of a Crisis*, by Warren Christopher *et al.* (Yale University Press, 1985). Cloth.  
*Canada and the United States: Enduring Friendship, Persistent Stress*, edited by Charles F. Doran and John H. Sigler (Prentice-Hall, 1985). Cloth and paperback.  
*Arms and the African: Military Influences on Africa's International Relations*, edited by William J. Foltz and Henry S. Bienen (Yale University Press, 1985). Cloth.  
*A Changing Israel*, by Peter Grose (Vintage/Random House, 1985). Paperback.  
*Technological Frontiers and Foreign Relations*, edited by Anne G. Keatley (National Academy Press, 1985). Paperback.  
*Strategic Stalemate: Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control in American Politics*, by Michael Krepon (St. Martin's Press, 1985). Cloth.  
*Third World Instability: Central America as a European-American Issue*, edited by Andrew J. Pierre (Council on Foreign Relations, 1985). Paperback.  
*Latin Migration North: The Problem for U.S. Foreign Policy*, by Michael S. Teitelbaum (Council on Foreign Relations, 1985). Paperback.  
*Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa*, by I. William Zartman (Oxford University Press, 1985). Cloth.  
*Prospects for Peace in the Middle East: The View from Israel*. Foreword by Cyrus R. Vance (Council on Foreign Relations, 1985). Conference Transcript.  
*India and the United States: A Report on a Dialogue between the Council on Foreign Relations and a group of distinguished Indians under the auspices of the Indian Council of Cultural Relations* (Council on Foreign Relations, 1985). Paperback.  
*North Africa: Regional Tensions and Strategic Concerns*, by Richard B. Parker (Praeger, 1984). Cloth.  
*Soviet Policy in Eastern Europe*, edited by Sarah Meiklejohn Terry (Yale University Press, 1984). Cloth and paperback.  
*The Dilemma of Reform in the Soviet Union*, by Timothy J. Colton (Council on Foreign Relations, 1984). Paperback.  
*The Making of America's Soviet Policy*, edited by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (Yale University Press, 1984). Cloth and paperback.  
*Nuclear Weapons in Europe*, edited by Andrew J. Pierre (Council on Foreign Relations, 1984). Paperback.  
*Unemployment and Growth in the Western Economies*, edited by Andrew J. Pierre (Council on Foreign Relations, 1984). Paperback.  
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 Groves, Ray J.  
 Grunwald, Henry A.  
 Gullion, Edmund A.  
 Gulliver, Adelaide  
     Cromwell  
 Gunn, Hartford N., Jr.  
 Gutfreund, John H.  
 Guthman, Edwin O.  
 Gwertzman, Bernard M.  
 Gwin, Catherine

## H

Haas, Peter E.  
 Haas, Robert D.  
 Haass, Richard N.  
 Habib, Philip C.  
 Haig, Alexander M., Jr.  
 Halaby, Najeeb E.  
 Haley, John C.  
 Hallingby, Paul, Jr.  
 Halperin, Morton H.  
 Halsted, Thomas A.  
 Hamburg, David A.  
 Hamilton, Ann O.  
 Hamilton, Charles V.  
 Hamilton, Edward K.  
 Hamilton, Michael P.  
 Hancock, Judith L.  
 Hansen, Carol Rae  
 Hansen, Roger D.  
 Hanson, Robert A.  
 Hanson, Thor  
 Harari, Maurice  
 Harding, Harry  
 Hardt, John P.  
 Hare, Raymond A.  
 Hargrove, John Lawrence  
 Harpel, James W.  
 Harper, Conrad K.  
 Harper, Paul C., Jr.

Harriman, W. Averell  
 Harris, Irving B.  
 Harris, Joseph E.  
 Harrison, Selig S.  
 Harsch, Joseph C.  
 Hart, Augustin S.  
 Hart, Parker T.  
 Hartley, Fred L.  
 Hartman, Arthur A.  
 Hartnack, Carl E.  
 Harvin, William C.  
 Haskell, John H. F., Jr.  
 Haskins, Caryl P.  
 Hatfield, Robert S.  
 Hauser, Rita E.  
 Hauser, William L.  
 Hauspurg, Arthur  
 Haviland, H. Field, Jr.  
 Hawkins, Ashton  
 Hayes, Alfred  
 Hayes, Margaret Daly  
 Hayes, Samuel P.  
 Haynes, Fred  
 Haynes, Ulric St. C., Jr.  
 Hayward, Thomas B.  
 Haywood, Oliver G.  
 Hazard, John N.  
 Healy, Harold H., Jr.  
 Heard, Alexander  
 Heck, Charles B.  
 Heckscher, August  
 Hedstrom, Mitchell W.  
 Hehir, J. Bryan  
 Heifetz, Elaine F.  
 Heimann, John G.  
 Heintzen, Harry L.  
 Heinz, H. J., II  
 Helander, Robert C.  
 Heldring, Frederick  
 Hellman, F. Warren  
 Helms, Christine Moss  
 Helms, Richard  
 Henderson, Lawrence J., Jr.  
 Henkin, Alice H.  
 Henkin, Louis  
 Hennessy, John M.  
 Herling, John  
 Hermann, Charles Frazer  
 Herskovits, Jean  
 Herter, Christian A., Jr.  
 Hertzberg, Arthur

## Membership Roster

Herzfeld, Charles M.  
 Herzog, Paul M.  
 Herzstein, Robert E.  
 Hesburgh, Theodore M.  
 Hess, John B.  
 Hester, James M.  
 Hewitt, William A.  
 Hewlett, Sylvia Ann  
 Heyns, Roger W.  
 Higgins, Robert F.  
 Highet, Keith  
 Hill, Velma Murphy  
 Hillenbrand, Martin J.  
 Hilsman, Roger  
 Hinerfeld, Ruth J.  
 Hines, Gerald D.  
 Hinshaw, Randall  
 Hinton, Deane R.  
 Hirschman, Albert O.  
 Hoagland, Jim  
 Hoch, Frank W.  
 Hodgson, James D.  
 Hodin, Michael W.  
 Hoerber, Amoretta M.  
 Hoehn, William E., Jr.  
 Hoepfli, Nancy L.  
 Hoffman, Michael L.  
 Hoffmann, Stanley  
 Hoge, James  
 Hogue, George R.  
 Hogue, Robert L.  
 Hohenberg, John  
 Holbrooke, Richard C.  
 Holcomb, M. Staser  
 Holderman, James B.  
 Holland, Robert C.  
 Hollick, Ann L.  
 Holloway, Anne F.  
 Holmes, Allen C.  
 Holmes, H. Allen  
 Holst, Willem  
 Holt, Pat M.  
 Hooks, Benjamin L.  
 Hoopes, Townsend W.  
 Hoover, Herbert W., Jr.  
 Horan, John J.  
 Horelick, Arnold L.  
 Hormats, Robert D.  
 Horn, Garfield H.  
 Horn, Karen N.  
 Horn, Sally K.  
 Horner, Matina S.

Horowitz, Irving Louis  
 Horton, Alan W.  
 Horton, Frank B., III  
 Hosmer, Bradley C.  
 Hoston, Germaine A.  
 Hottelet, Richard C.  
 Houghton, Amory, Jr.  
 Houghton, Arthur A., Jr.  
 Houghton, James R.  
 House, Karen Elliott  
 Hovey, Graham  
 Hovey, J. Allan, Jr.  
 Howard, John B.  
 Howard, John R.  
 Hoyt, Mont P.  
 Hudson, Manley O., Jr.  
 Huebner, Lee W.  
 Hufbauer, Gary C.  
 Huffington, Roy M.  
 Hufstедler, Shirley M.  
 Huggins, Nathan I.  
 Hughes, John  
 Hughes, Thomas L.  
 Huglin, Henry C.  
 Huizenga, John W.  
 Hummel, Arthur W., Jr.  
 Hunsberger, Warren S.  
 Hunter, Robert E.  
 Hunter-Gault, Charlayne  
 Huntington, Samuel P.  
 Hurewitz, J. C.  
 Hurlock, James B.  
 Huyck, Philip M.  
 Hyde, Henry B.  
 Hyland, William G.

## I

Iklé, Fred C.  
 Ilchman, Alice S.  
 Inderfurth, Karl F.  
 Ingersoll, Robert S.  
 Inman, B. R.  
 Intriligator, Michael D.  
 Ireland, R. L., III  
 Irish, Leon E.  
 Irwin, John N., II  
 Irwin, John N., III  
 Irwin, Wallace, Jr.  
 Iselin, John Jay  
 Isenberg, Steven L.  
 Isham, Christopher

Issawi, Charles  
 Istel, Yves-André  
 Izlar, William H., Jr.

## J

Jablonski, Wanda  
 Jackson, Elmore  
 Jackson, Eugene D.  
 Jackson, Henry F.  
 Jackson, John H.  
 Jackson, William E.  
 Jacobs, Eli S.  
 Jacobs, Nehama  
 Jacobs, Norman  
 Jacobson, Harold K.  
 Jacobson, Jerome  
 Jacoby, Tamar  
 Jaffe, Sam A.  
 Jahrling, Robert V. W.  
 Jamieson, J. K.  
 Janklow, Morton L.  
 Janow, Merit E.  
 Jansen, Marius B.  
 Jastrow, Robert  
 Javits, Jacob K.  
 Jenson, John W.  
 Jervis, Robert L.  
 Jessup, Alpheus W.  
 Jessup, Philip C., Jr.  
 Johnson, Chalmers  
 Johnson, Howard W.  
 Johnson, Joseph E.  
 Johnson, Paul G.  
 Johnson, Richard Alan  
 Johnson, Robbin S.  
 Johnson, Robert H.  
 Johnson, Thomas S.  
 Johnson, W. Thomas, Jr.  
 Johnson, Willard R.  
 Jones, David C.  
 Jones, Peter T.  
 Jones, Sidney R.  
 Jones, Thomas V.  
 Jordan, Amos A.  
 Jordan, Vernon E., Jr.  
 Jorden, William J.  
 Joseph, Geri M.  
 Joseph, James A.  
 Josephson, William  
 Joyce, John T.  
 Junz, Helen B.

Juster, Kenneth I.

## K

Kagan, Robert W.  
Kahan, Jerome H.  
Kahin, George McT.  
Kahn, Harry  
Kaiser, Philip M.  
Kaiser, Robert G.  
Kaiser, Walter J.  
Kalb, Marvin  
Kalicki, Jan  
Kamarck, Andrew M.  
Kaminer, Peter H.  
Kampelman, Max M.  
Kamsky, Virginia Ann  
Kann, Peter R.  
Kanter, Arnold  
Kaplan, Gilbert E.  
Kaplan, Harold J.  
Kaplan, Helene L.  
Kaplan, Mark N.  
Karalekas, Anne  
Karis, Thomas G.  
Karnow, Stanley  
Kass, Stephen L.  
Kassof, Allen H.  
Katz, Abraham  
Katz, Milton  
Katzenbach, Nicholas  
deB.  
Katzenstein, Peter J.  
Kaufman, Henry  
Kaufmann, William W.  
Kaysen, Carl  
Kearns, David T.  
Keatley, Anne  
Keenan, Edward L.  
Keene, Lonnie S.  
Keeny, Spurgeon M., Jr.  
Kelleher, Catherine M.  
Kellen, Stephen M.  
Keller, George M.  
Kelley, P. X.  
Kelly, George Armstrong  
Kelly, John H.  
Kelman, Herbert C.  
Kemp, Geoffrey  
Kempner, Maximilian W.  
Kenen, Peter B.  
Keniston, Kenneth

Kennan, Christopher J.  
Kennan, Elizabeth T.  
Kennan, George F.  
Kennedy, David M.  
Kennedy, Donald  
Kennedy, Randall L.  
Kenney, F. Donald  
Keohane, Nannerl O.  
Keohane, Robert O.  
Keppel, Francis  
Kern, Harry F.  
Kester, John G.  
Ketelson, James L.  
Keydel, John F.  
Khuri, Nicola N.  
Kieschnick, W. F.  
Kilson, Martin  
Kimmitt, Robert M.  
King, Henry L.  
King, James E.  
King, John A., Jr.  
Kintner, William R.  
Kipper, Judith  
Kirby, Michael  
Kirk, Grayson  
Kirkland, Lane  
Kirkpatrick, Jeane J.  
Kiser, William S.  
Kissinger, Henry A.  
Kitchen, Helen  
Kitchen, Jeffrey C.  
Klaerner, Curtis M.  
Kleiman, Robert  
Klein, David  
Klein, Edward  
Knight, Robert  
Huntington  
Knoppers, Antonie T.  
Knowlton, William A.  
Knowlton, Winthrop  
Kohler, Foy D.  
Kojm, Christopher A.  
Kolodziej, Edward A.  
Koltai, Steven R.  
Komer, Robert W.  
Koonce, Wayne A.  
Korb, Lawrence J.  
Korbonski, Andrzej  
Korry, Edward M.  
Kraar, Louis  
Kraemer, Lillian E.  
Kraft, Joseph

Kramer, Helen M.  
Kramer, Jane  
Krasner, Stephen D.  
Krasno, Richard M.  
Krause, Lawrence B.  
Kreczko, Alan J.  
Kreidler, Robert N.  
Kreisberg, Paul H.  
Krepon, Michael  
Kreps, Juanita M.  
Krisher, Bernard  
Kristol, Irving  
Krugman, Paul R.  
Kruidenier, David  
Kruzel, Joseph  
Kubarych, Roger M.  
Kubisch, Jack B.  
Kulewicz, John C.  
Kupperman, Robert H.  
Kurth, James R.

## L

Labbok, Miriam H.  
Labouisse, Henry R.  
Lacy, Alex S.  
Lacy, Dan M.  
Laise, Carol C.  
Lake, W. Anthony  
Lake, William T.  
Lall, Betty Goetz  
Lamm, Donald S.  
Lamont, Lansing  
Lamontagne, Raymond A.  
Landau, George W.  
Landry, Lionel  
Langer, Paul F.  
Lansner, Kermit  
LaPalombara, Joseph  
Lapham, Lewis H.  
Lapidus, Gail  
Laqueur, Walter  
Larrabee, F. Stephen  
Lary, Hal B.  
Lauinger, Philip C., Jr.  
Laukhuff, Perry  
Laventhol, David A.  
Lawrence, Richard D.  
Lazarus, Steven  
Le Blond, Richard K., II  
Leddy, John M.  
Lederberg, Joshua

## Membership Roster

Lederer, Ivo John  
 Lee, Ernest S.  
 Lee, John M.  
 Lee, William L.  
 Lefever, Ernest W.  
 Leghorn, Richard S.  
 Legvold, Robert H.  
 Lehman, John R.  
 Lehman, Orin  
 Lehr, Jim  
 Lehrman, Hal  
 Leich, John Foster  
 Leigh, Monroe  
 Leland, Marc E.  
 LeMelle, Tilden J.  
 LeMelle, Wilbert J.  
 Lemnitzer, Lyman L.  
 LeMoyné, James G.  
 Leonard, James F.  
 Leonard, James G.  
 Leonhard, William E.  
 Leslie, John E.  
 Le Sueur, Lawrence E.  
 Levine, Irving R.  
 Levitas, Mitchel  
 Levy, Marion J., Jr.  
 Levy, Reynold  
 Levy, Walter J.  
 Lewis, Bernard  
 Lewis, Flora  
 Lewis, John P.  
 Lewis, John Wilson  
 Lewis, Samuel W.  
 Lewis, Stephen R., Jr.  
 Li, Victor H.  
 Libby, I. Lewis  
 Lichtblau, John H.  
 Lieberman, Henry R.  
 Lieberthal, Kenneth  
 Liffers, William A.  
 Lindquist, Warren T.  
 Lindsay, Franklin A.  
 Lindsay, George N.  
 Lindsay, John V.  
 Linen, James A.  
 Linowes, David F.  
 Linowitz, Sol M.  
 Lipper, Kenneth  
 Lipscomb, James S.  
 Lipscomb, Thomas H.  
 Lipset, Seymour Martin  
 Lipsky, Seth

Lipson, Leon  
 Lissakers, Karin M.  
 Little, David  
 Livingston, Robert Gerald  
 Locke, Edwin A., Jr.  
 Lockwood, John E.  
 Lodai, Jan M.  
 Lodge, George C.  
 Loeb, Frances Lehman  
 Loeb, John L.  
 Loeb, Marshall  
 Loft, George  
 Logan, Francis D.  
 Long, Franklin A.  
 Long, T. Dixon  
 Loomis, Henry  
 Loos, A. William  
 Lord, Charles Edwin  
 Lord, Winston  
 Lovelace, Jon B.  
 Lovestone, Jay  
 Low, Stephen  
 Lowenfeld, Andreas F.  
 Lowenfeld, David  
 Lowenstein, James G.  
 Lowenthal, Abraham F.  
 Loy, Frank E.  
 Lozano, Ignacio E., Jr.  
 Lubar, Robert A.  
 Lubman, Stanley B.  
 Lucas, C. Payne  
 Luce, Charles F.  
 Luce, Clare Boothe  
 Luckey, E. Hugh  
 Ludt, Rudolph E.  
 Luers, William H.  
 Luke, David L., III  
 Lupfer, Timothy T.  
 Lustick, Ian S.  
 Luter, Yvonne  
 Luttwak, Edward N.  
 Lyford, Joseph P.  
 Lyman, Richard W.  
 Lynch, Edward S.  
 Lynch, Leon  
 Lynn, James T.  
 Lynn, Laurence E., Jr.  
 Lynn, William J.  
 Lyon, E. Wilson  
 Lyons, Gene M.  
 Lythcott, George I.

## M

McCarthy, John G.  
 McCloy, John J.  
 McCloy, John J., II  
 McColough, C. Peter  
 McConnell, Michael W.  
 McCormack, Elizabeth J.  
 McCormick, Brooks  
 McCouch, Donald J.  
 McCracken, Paul W.  
 McDonald, Alonzo L.  
 McDonald, Randal B.  
 McDonough, William J.  
 McDougal, Myres S.  
 McFarland, Kathleen  
     Troia  
 McFarlane, Robert C.  
 McGee, Gale W.  
 McGhee, George C.  
 McGiffert, David E.  
 McGillicuddy, John F.  
 McGovern, George S.  
 McHenry, Donald F.  
 McKee, James W., Jr.  
 McKee, Katharine W.  
 McKeever, Porter  
 McKinley, John K.  
 McKinney, Robert M.  
 McLaughlin, David T.  
 McLean, Sheila Avrin  
 McLin, Jon B.  
 McNamara, Robert S.  
 McNeill, Robert L.  
 McPherson, Harry C., Jr.  
 McQuade, Lawrence C.  
 MacArthur, Douglas, II  
 MacCormack, Charles F.  
 MacDonald, Gordon J.  
 MacEachron, David W.  
 MacFarquhar, Emily  
 MacGregor, Ian K.  
 MacLaury, Bruce K.  
 Macomber, John D.  
 Macomber, William B.  
 Macy, Robert M., Jr.  
 Maged, Mark J.  
 Magowan, Peter A.  
 Maguire, John D.  
 Mahaffey, Fred K.  
 Mahoney, Margaret E.  
 Mahoney, Thomas H., IV



Maier, Charles S.  
Malin, Clement B.  
Mallery, Richard  
Malmgren, Harald B.  
Malone, Peter  
Manca, Marie Antoinette  
Mandelbaum, Michael E.  
Mangels, John D.  
Manilow, Lewis  
Mann, Michael D.  
Manning, Bayless  
Manning, Robert J.  
Mansager, Felix N.  
Manshel, Warren Demian  
Marcy, Carl  
Marder, Murrey  
Mark, David E.  
Mark, Hans M.  
Markoff, Michele G.  
Marks, Andrew H.  
Marks, Leonard H.  
Marks, Russell E., Jr.  
Marmor, Theodore R.  
Marous, John C.  
Marron, Donald B.  
Marshak, Robert E.  
Marshall, Anthony D.  
Marshall, C. Burton  
Martin, Edwin M.  
Martin, Malcolm W.  
Martin, William F.  
Martin, William McC., Jr.  
Martinez, Vilma S.  
Martinuzzi, Leo S., Jr.  
Mason, Elvis L.  
Massie, Suzanne  
Masten, John E.  
Mathews, Jessica Tuchman  
Mathews, Michael S.  
Mathias, Charles McC., Jr.  
Matteson, William B.  
Maw, Carlyle E.  
May, Clifford D.  
May, Ernest R.  
Mayer, Gerald M., Jr.  
Mayer, Lawrence A.  
Maynard, Robert C.  
Maynes, Charles William  
Mead, Dana G.  
Meadows, Dennis L.  
Meagher, Robert F.

Mehta, Ved  
Meissner, Charles F.  
Meister, Irene W.  
Melloan, George R.  
Melville, Richard A.  
Mendlovitz, Saul H.  
Menke, John R.  
Merow, John E.  
Merrill, Philip  
Merritt, Jack N.  
Meselson, Matthew  
Messner, William C., Jr.  
Metcalf, George R.  
Mettler, Ruben F.  
Meyer, Charles A.  
Meyer, Cord  
Meyer, Edward C.  
Meyer, John R.  
Meyer, Karl E.  
Meyerson, Adam  
Meyerson, Martin  
Mickelson, Sig  
Middleton, Drew  
Midgley, Elizabeth  
Miller, Charles D.  
Miller, Franklin C.  
Miller, Frederic A.  
Miller, J. Irwin  
Miller, Judith  
Miller, Judith A.  
Miller, Paul L.  
Miller, William G.  
Miller, William J.  
Millett, Alan R.  
Millington, John A.  
Mills, Bradford  
Mladek, Jan V.  
Mochizuki, Mike M.  
Moe, Sherwood G.  
Mondale, Walter F.  
Montgomery, Parker G.  
Montgomery, Philip  
O'Bryan, III  
Moody, William S.  
Moore, John Norton  
Moore, Jonathan  
Moore, Maurice T.  
Moore, Paul, Jr.  
Moose, Richard M.  
Moran, Theodore H.  
Morgan, Cecil  
Morgan, Thomas E.

Morgenthau, Lucinda L.  
Franks  
Morley, James William  
Morrell, Gene P.  
Morris, Grinnell  
Morris, Max K.  
Morrisett, Lloyd N.  
Morse, David A.  
Morse, Edward L.  
Morse, F. Bradford  
Morse, Kenneth P.  
Moses, Alfred H.  
Moss, Ambler H., Jr.  
Moyers, Bill D.  
Moynihan, Daniel P.  
Mroz, John E.  
Mujal-Leon, Eusebio M.  
Mulford, David C.  
Mulholland, William D.  
Muller, Henry  
Muller, Steven  
Munger, Edwin S.  
Munroe, George B.  
Munroe, Vernon, Jr.  
Munyan, Winthrop R.  
Murray, Allen E.  
Murray, Douglas P.  
Muse, Martha Twitchell  
Muskie, Edmund S.

## N

Nachmanoff, Arnold  
Nacht, Michael L.  
Nagorski, Zygmunt, Jr.  
Nason, John W.  
Nathan, James A.  
Nathan, Robert R.  
Natt, Ted M.  
Nau, Henry R.  
Neal, Alfred C.  
Negroponte, John D.  
Nelson, Clifford C.  
Nelson, Jack  
Nelson, Merlin E.  
Neustadt, Richard E.  
Newberg, Paula R.  
Newburg, André W. G.  
Newell, Barbara W.  
Newhouse, John  
Newman, Richard T.  
Newsom, David D.

## Membership Roster

Newton, Quigg, Jr.  
 Newton, Russell B., Jr.  
 Ney, Edward N.  
 Nichols, Rodney W.  
 Niehuss, John M.  
 Niehuss, Rosemary  
   Neaher  
 Nielsen, Waldemar A.  
 Nierenberg, William A.  
 Nimetz, Matthew  
 Nitze, Paul H.  
 Nolan, Janne E.  
 Nolte, Richard H.  
 Nooter, Robert H.  
 Norman, William S.  
 Norstad, Lauris  
 Norton, Eleanor Holmes  
 Nossiter, Bernard D.  
 Novak, Michael  
 Noyes, Charles Phelps  
 Nugent, Walter  
 Nye, Joseph S., Jr.

### O

Oakes, John B.  
 Oberdorfer, Don  
 Ochmanek, David A.  
 Odeen, Philip A.  
 Odom, William E.  
 O'Donnell, John  
 O'Donnell, Kevin  
 Oettinger, Anthony G.  
 Offit, Morris W.  
 O'Flaherty, J. Daniel  
 Ogden, Alfred  
 Ogden, William S.  
 O'Keefe, Bernard J.  
 Okimoto, Daniel I.  
 Oksenberg, Michel  
 Okun, Herbert S.  
 Oliver, Covey T.  
 Olmstead, Cecil J.  
 Olsen, Leif H.  
 Olson, Lawrence  
 Olson, William C.  
 Olvey, Lee D.  
 O'Malley, Cormac K. H.  
 O'Neill, Michael J.  
 Opel, John R.  
 Oppenheimer, Franz M.  
 Ornstein, Norman J.

Osborn, George K., III  
 Osborne, Richard de J.  
 Osgood, Robert E.  
 Osmer-McQuade,  
   Margaret  
 Osnos, Peter  
 Ostrander, F. Taylor  
 Owen, Henry  
 Owen, Roberts B.  
 Oxman, Stephen A.  
 Oxnam, Robert B.  
 Oye, Kenneth A.

### P

Packard, George R.  
 Page, John H.  
 Pais, Abraham  
 Pais, Sara V.  
 Palenberg, John C.  
 Paley, William S.  
 Palmer, Norman D.  
 Palmer, Ronald D.  
 Palmieri, Victor H.  
 Panofsky, Wolfgang K. H.  
 Parker, Daniel  
 Parker, Maynard  
 Parkinson, Roger P.  
 Parris, Mark Robert  
 Parsky, Gerald L.  
 Passin, Herbert  
 Patrick, Hugh T.  
 Patterson, Gardner  
 Patterson, Hugh B., Jr.  
 Patterson, Robert P., Jr.  
 Patterson, Torkel L.  
 Pauker, Guy J.  
 Paul, Roland A.  
 Payne, Samuel B.  
 Peacock, Philip Dexter  
 Pearce, William R.  
 Pearlstine, Norman  
 Pearson, John E.  
 Pedersen, Richard F.  
 Pelgrift, Kathryn C.  
 Pell, Claiborne  
 Penfield, James K.  
 Pennoyer, Robert M.  
 Peretz, Don  
 Perkins, James A.  
 Perkins, Roswell B.  
 Perle, Richard N.

Perlmutter, Amos  
 Perry, Hart  
 Peters, Arthur King  
 Peters, Aulana L.  
 Petersen, Donald E.  
 Petersen, Gustav H.  
 Petersen, Howard C.  
 Peterson, Peter G.  
 Peterson, Rudolph A.  
 Petree, Richard W.  
 Petree, Richard W., Jr.  
 Petschek, Stephen R.  
 Petty, John R.  
 Pfaltzgraff, Robert L.  
 Pfeiffer, Jane Cahill  
 Pfeiffer, Ralph A., Jr.  
 Pfeiffer, Steven B.  
 Phillips, Christopher H.  
 Phillips, Edward E.  
 Phillips, John G.  
 Phillips, Russell A., Jr.  
 Picker, Harvey  
 Picker, Jean  
 Pickering, Thomas R.  
 Piel, Gerard  
 Pierce, Kerry K.  
 Pierce, William C.  
 Piercy, George T.  
 Pierre, Andrew J.  
 Pifer, Alan  
 Pigott, Charles M.  
 Pilliod, Charles J., Jr.  
 Pincus, Lionel I.  
 Pincus, Walter H.  
 Pino, John A.  
 Pinola, Joseph J.  
 Pipes, Daniel  
 Pipes, Richard E.  
 Place, John B. M.  
 Plank, John N.  
 Platig, E. Raymond  
 Platt, Alan A.  
 Platt, Jonas M.  
 Platt, Nicholas  
 Platten, Donald C.  
 Plimpton, Calvin H.  
 Podhoretz, Norman  
 Polk, William R.  
 Pollack, Gerald A.  
 Polsby, Nelson W.  
 Pond, Elizabeth  
 Poor, J. Sheppard

Portes, Richard D.  
Posen, Barry R.  
Posner, Michael H.  
Posvar, Wesley W.  
Potter, Robert S.  
Power, Philip H.  
Power, Sarah Goddard  
Power, Thomas F., Jr.  
Powers, Joshua B.  
Powers, Thomas Moore  
Pranger, Robert J.  
Pratt, Edmund T., Jr.  
Press, Frank  
Preston, Lewis T.  
Prewitt, Kenneth  
Price, John R., Jr.  
Price, Robert  
Puckett, Allen E.  
Pugh, Richard C.  
Purcell, Susan Kaufman  
Pursley, Robert E.  
Pusey, Nathan M.  
Pustay, John S.  
Putignano, Patrick A.  
Putnam, George E., Jr.  
Putnam, Robert D.  
Pye, Lucian W.  
Pyle, Cassandra A.

## Q

Quandt, William B.  
Quester, George H.  
Quigg, Philip W.  
Quigley, Leonard V.

## R

Rabb, Maxwell M.  
Rabi, Isidor I.  
Rabinowitch, Victor  
Radway, Laurence I.  
Ragone, David V.  
Ramo, Simon  
Ramsey, Douglas K.  
Randolph, R. Sean  
Ranis, Gustav  
Rashish, Myer  
Rather, Dan  
Rathjens, George W.  
Rauch, Rudolph S., III  
Ravenal, Earl C.

Ravenholt, Albert  
Ravitch, Richard  
Rawson, Merle R.  
Raymond, Jack  
Read, Benjamin H.  
Reed, Joseph Verner  
Reed, John S.  
Reed, Philip D.  
Reeves, Jay B. L.  
Regan, John M., Jr.  
Rehm, John B.  
Reichert, William M.  
Reid, Ogden R.  
Reid, Whitelaw  
Reinhardt, John E.  
Reisman, W. M.  
Renfrew, Charles B.  
Resor, Stanley R.  
Reston, James B.  
Revelle, Roger  
Rey, Nicholas A.  
Reynolds, Lloyd G.  
Rhineland, John B.  
Rhinesmith, Stephen H.  
Rhodes, Frank H. T.  
Rhodes, John B., Jr.  
Rhodes, William R.  
Ribicoff, Abraham A.  
Rice, Condoleezza  
Rice, Donald B.  
Rice, Emmett J.  
Rice, Joseph A.  
Rich, John H., Jr.  
Rich, Michael D.  
Richard, Eric L.  
Richardson, David B.  
Richardson, Elliot L.  
Richardson, John, Jr.  
Richardson, Richard W.  
Richardson, William B.  
Richardson, William R.  
Ridgway, Rozanne L.  
Rielly, John E.  
Ries, Hans A.  
Riesel, Victor  
Ripley, S. Dillon, II  
Ritch, John B., III  
Rivard, Robert  
Rivers, Richard R.  
Rivkin, Donald H.  
Rivlin, Alice M.  
Roberts, Chalmers M.

Roberts, Walter Orr  
Roberts, Walter R.  
Robinson, Charles W.  
Robinson, James D., III  
Robinson, Marshall A.  
Robinson, Randall  
Robison, Olin C.  
Roche, John P.  
Rockefeller, David  
Rockefeller, David, Jr.  
Rockefeller, John D., IV  
Rockefeller, Rodman C.  
Rodman, Peter W.  
Rodriguez, Vincent A.  
Roett, Riordan  
Roff, J. Hugh, Jr.  
Rogers, Bernard W.  
Rogers, David E.  
Rogers, William D.  
Rogers, William P.  
Rogovin, Mitchell  
Rohatyn, Felix G.  
Rohlen, Thomas P.  
Rohter, William Lawrence, Jr.  
Rokke, Ervin J.  
Romberg, Alan D.  
Romero-Barceló, Carlos  
Roney, John H.  
Roosa, Robert V.  
Roosa, Ruth AmEnde  
Root, Oren  
Rosberg, Carl G.  
Rose, Daniel  
Rose, Elihu  
Rose, Frederick P.  
Rosecrance, Richard  
Rosen, Arthur H.  
Rosen, Jane K.  
Rosenblith, Walter A.  
Rosenblum, Mort  
Rosenfeld, Robert A.  
Rosenfeld, Stephen S.  
Rosenthal, A. M.  
Rosenthal, Jack  
Rosenwald, William  
Rosenzweig, Robert M.  
Rosin, Axel G.  
Rosovsky, Henry  
Ross, Arthur  
Ross, Roger  
Ross, Thomas B.

## Membership Roster

Rosso, David J.  
 Rostow, Eugene V.  
 Rostow, Walt W.  
 Rotberg, Robert I.  
 Roth, Richard H.  
 Roth, William M.  
 Roth, William V., Jr.  
 Rouse, James W.  
 Rowen, Henry S.  
 Rowny, Edward L.  
 Rubin, Robert M.  
 Rubin, Seymour J.  
 Ruckelshaus, William D.  
 Rudman, Warren B.  
 Rudolph, Lloyd I.  
 Rudolph, Susanne Hoeber  
 Ruebhausen, Oscar M.  
 Ruenitz, Robert M.  
 Ruina, J. P.  
 Rush, Barney  
 Rush, Kenneth  
 Rusk, Dean  
 Russell, T. W., Jr.  
 Rustow, Dankwart A.  
 Ruthberg, Miles N.  
 Ruttan, Vernon W.  
 Ryan, Hewson A.  
 Ryan, John T., Jr.  
 Ryan, John T., III

## S

Sachs, Jeffrey D.  
 Safran, Nadav  
 Sagan, Scott  
 Sage, Mildred D.  
 Said, Edward  
 Salisbury, Harrison E.  
 Salk, Jonas  
 Salomon, Richard E.  
 Salomon, William R.  
 Saltzman, Charles E.  
 Salzman, Herbert  
 Sample, Steven B.  
 Samuel, Howard D.  
 Samuels, Barbara C., II  
 Samuels, Michael A.  
 Samuels, Nathaniel  
 Sanchez, Nestor D.  
 Sanders, Edward G.  
 Sanford, Charles S., Jr.  
 Sanford, Terry

Saul, Ralph S.  
 Saunders, Harold H.  
 Savage, Frank  
 Sawhill, John C.  
 Sawyer, Diane  
 Sawyer, John E.  
 Scalapino, Robert A.  
 Scali, John A.  
 Schacht, Henry B.  
 Schachter, Oscar  
 Schaetzel, J. Robert  
 Schafer, John H.  
 Schallert, Edwin G.  
 Schaufele, William E., Jr.  
 Schechter, Jerrold  
 Scheffer, David J.  
 Scheinman, Lawrence  
 Schell, Orville H., Jr.  
 Schiff, Frank W.  
 Schiff, John M.  
 Schilling, Warner R.  
 Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr.  
 Schlosser, Herbert S.  
 Schmertz, Herbert  
 Schmoker, John B.  
 Schneider, Jan  
 Schneider, William  
 Schneier, Arthur  
 Schoen, Douglas  
 Schoettle, Enid C. B.  
 Schorr, Daniel L.  
 Schubert, Richard F.  
 Schuyler, C. V. R.  
 Schwab, Susan C.  
 Schwab, William B.  
 Schwartz, David N.  
 Schwartz, Harry  
 Schwebel, Stephen M.  
 Sciolino, Elaine F.  
 Scott, Stuart N.  
 Scoville, Herbert, Jr.  
 Scowcroft, Brent  
 Scranton, William W.  
 Scrimshaw, Nevin S.  
 Seaborg, Glenn T.  
 Seabury, Paul  
 Seagrave, Norman P.  
 Seamans, Robert C., Jr.  
 Sebenius, James K.  
 Segal, Sheldon J.  
 Segal, Susan L.  
 Seibold, Frederick C., Jr.

Seidman, Herta Lande  
 Seigenthaler, John L.  
 Seigle, John W.  
 Seignious, George M., II  
 Seitz, Frederick  
 Selin, Ivan  
 Semple, Robert B., Jr.  
 Sewell, John W.  
 Sexton, William C.  
 Shafer, Raymond P.  
 Shalala, Donna E.  
 Shannon, James M.  
 Shapiro, Eli  
 Shapiro, George M.  
 Shapiro, Isaac  
 Shaplen, Robert  
 Sharabi, Hisham  
 Sharp, Daniel A.  
 Shayne, Herbert M.  
 Shearer, Warren W.  
 Sheeline, Paul C.  
 Sheffield, James R.  
 Sheinkman, Jack  
 Sheldon, Eleanor Bernert  
 Shelley, Sally Swing  
 Shelp, Ronald K.  
 Shelton-Colby, Sally A.  
 Shenk, George H.  
 Shepherd, Mark, Jr.  
 Sherry, George L.  
 Sherwood, Richard E.  
 Shipley, Walter V.  
 Shirer, William L.  
 Shoemaker, Alvin V.  
 Shoemaker, Don  
 Shriver, Sargent, Jr.  
 Shull, Thomas C.  
 Shulman, Colette  
 Shulman, Marshall D.  
 Shultz, George P.  
 Sick, Gary G.  
 Siegman, Henry  
 Sifton, Elisabeth  
 Sigal, Leon V.  
 Sigmund, Paul E.  
 Sihler, William W.  
 Silberman, Laurence H.  
 Silk, Leonard S.  
 Silvers, Robert B.  
 Simes, Dimitri K.  
 Simmons, Adele S.  
 Simmons, Richard S.

Simon, William E.  
Simons, Howard  
Sims, Albert G.  
Sisco, Joseph J.  
Skidmore, Thomas E.  
Skilling, Jeffrey K.  
Skinner, David E.  
Skinner, Elliott P.  
Skolnikoff, Eugene B.  
Slater, Jacqueline R.  
Slater, Joseph E.  
Slawson, John  
Slawson, Paul S.  
Sloane, Anne B.  
Slocombe, Walter B.  
Slocum, John J.  
Sloss, Leon  
Small, Lawrence M.  
Smart, S. Bruce, Jr.  
Smith, Carleton Sprague  
Smith, Datus C., Jr.  
Smith, David S.  
Smith, DeWitt C., Jr.  
Smith, Gaddis  
Smith, Gerard C.  
Smith, Hedrick  
Smith, John T., II  
Smith, Larry K.  
Smith, Michael Joseph  
Smith, Perry M.  
Smith, Peter B.  
Smith, Richard M.  
Smith, Stephen G.  
Smith, Theodore M.  
Smith, Tony  
Smith, W. Mason  
Smith, W. Y.  
Smyth, Henry DeW.  
Smythe, Mabel M.  
Sneath, William S.  
Sneider, Richard L.  
Snipes, James C.  
Snyder, Jed C.  
Sohn, Louis B.  
Solarz, Stephen J.  
Solbert, Peter O. A.  
Solomon, Adam  
Solomon, Anthony M.  
Solomon, Richard H.  
Solomon, Robert  
Sommers, A. Wing  
Sonne, Christian R.

Sonnenfeldt, Helmut  
Sonnenfeldt, Richard W.  
Sorensen, Gillian Martin  
Sorensen, Theodore C.  
Southard, Frank A., Jr.  
Sovern, Michael I.  
Spain, James W.  
Spang, Kenneth M.  
Spector, Phillip L.  
Spencer, Edson W.  
Spencer, John H.  
Spencer, William C.  
Spencer, William I.  
Spero, Joan E.  
Speth, James Gustave  
Spiers, Ronald I.  
Spiro, Herbert J.  
Spofford, Charles M.  
Sprague, Robert C.  
Squadron, Howard M.  
Stackpole, Stephen H.  
Staley, Eugene  
Stalson, Helena  
Stamas, Stephen  
Stankard, Francis X.  
Stanley, Peter W.  
Stanley, Timothy W.  
Stanton, Frank  
Stanton, R. John, Jr.  
Staples, Eugene S.  
Starr, S. Frederick  
Stassen, Harold E.  
Stavridis, James G.  
Steadman, Richard C.  
Stebbins, James H.  
Steel, Ronald  
Stein, Eric  
Steinbruner, John D.  
Steiner, Daniel  
Stepan, Alfred C.  
Stephan, Edmund A.  
Stern, Ernest  
Stern, Fritz  
Stern, H. Peter  
Stern, Paula  
Sternlight, David  
Stevens, Charles R.  
Stevens, James W.  
Stevens, Norton  
Stevenson, Adlai E., III  
Stevenson, Charles A.  
Stevenson, H. L.

Stevenson, John R.  
Stevenson, Ruth Carter  
Stewart, Donald M.  
Stewart, Patricia Carry  
Stewart, Ruth Ann  
Sticht, J. Paul  
Stifel, Laurence D.  
Stilwell, Richard G.  
Stobaugh, Robert B.  
Stoessel, Walter J., Jr.  
Stoessinger, John G.  
Stoga, Alan  
Stone, Jeremy J.  
Stone, Roger D.  
Stone, Shepard  
Stookey, John Hoyt  
Stratton, Julius A.  
Straus, Donald B.  
Straus, Jack I.  
Straus, Oscar S.  
Straus, R. Peter  
Straus, Ralph I.  
Straus, Robert K.  
Strauss, Robert S.  
Strauss, Simon D.  
Strausz-Hupé, Robert  
Strayer, Joseph R.  
Stremlau, John J.  
Stroud, Joe H.  
Styron, Rose  
Sullivan, Eugene J.  
Sullivan, William H.  
Sunderland, Jack B.  
Surrey, Walter Sterling  
Suslow, Leo A.  
Sutterlin, James S.  
Sutton, Francis X.  
Swank, Emory C.  
Swanson, David H.  
Swearer, Howard R.  
Sweitzer, Brandon W.  
Swenson, Eric P.  
Swing, John Temple  
Symington, W. Stuart  
Szanton, Peter L.

## T

Taber, George M.  
Taft, William H., IV  
Talbot, Phillips  
Talbott, Strobe

## Membership Roster

Tanham, George K.  
 Tannenwald, Theodore, Jr.  
 Tanner, Harold  
 Tanter, Raymond  
 Tarnoff, Peter  
 Taubman, William  
 Tavoulareas, William P.  
 Taylor, Arthur R.  
 Taylor, George E.  
 Taylor, Maxwell D.  
 Taylor, T. James, Jr.  
 Taylor, William J., Jr.  
 Teeters, Nancy H.  
 Teicher, Howard R.  
 Teitelbaum, Michael S.  
 Tempelsman, Maurice  
 Tennyson, Leonard B.  
 Terracciano, Anthony P.  
 Theobald, Thomas C.  
 Thoman, G. Richard  
 Thomas, Barbara S.  
 Thomas, Brooks  
 Thomas, Evan  
 Thomas, Franklin A.  
 Thomas, Lee B., Jr.  
 Thomas, Lewis  
 Thompson, W. Scott  
 Thompson, William Pratt  
 Thomson, James C., Jr.  
 Thornell, Richard P.  
 Thornton, Thomas P.  
 Thorp, Willard L.  
 Thurman, M. R.  
 Tillinghast, David R.  
 Tillman, Seth P.  
 Timothy, Kristen  
 Tisch, Laurence A.  
 Todaro, Michael P.  
 Todman, Terence A.  
 Toll, Maynard J., Jr.  
 Tomlinson, Alexander C.  
 Tonelson, Alan  
 Topping, Seymour  
 Townsend, Edward  
 Train, Harry D., II  
 Train, Russell E.  
 Trainor, Bernard E.  
 Trani, Eugene P.  
 Travis, Martin B., Jr.  
 Treat, John Elting  
 Tree, Marietta

Treverton, Gregory F.  
 Trehwhitt, Henry L.  
 Trezise, Philip H.  
 Triffin, Robert  
 Trooboff, Peter D.  
 Trost, Carlisle A. H.  
 Trowbridge, Alexander B.  
 Truman, Edwin M.  
 Tucher, H. Anton  
 Tuchman, Barbara  
 Tuck, Edward Hallam  
 Tucker, Robert W.  
 Tully, Darrow  
 Turkevich, John  
 Turner, Stansfield  
 Turner, William C.  
 Tuthill, John Wills  
 Tyrrell, R. Emmett, Jr.

## U

Udovich, Abraham L.  
 Uhlig, Mark A.  
 Ullman, Richard H.  
 Ulman, Cornelius M.  
 Ulmer, Alfred C.  
 Ungar, Sanford J.  
 Unger, Leonard  
 Urfer, Richard P.  
 Usher, William R.  
 Utley, Garrick

## V

Vagliano, Alexander M.  
 Vaky, Viron P.  
 Valdez, Abelardo Lopez  
 Valenta, Jiri  
 Vance, Cyrus R.  
 van den Haag, Ernest  
 Van Dusen, Michael H.  
 Van Oudenaren, John  
 Van Slyck, DeForest  
 Van Vlieden, Constant M.  
 van Voorst, L. Bruce  
 Veit, Lawrence A.  
 Veliotis, Nicholas A.  
 Vermilye, Peter H.  
 Vernon, Raymond  
 Vershbow, Alexander R.  
 Vessey, John W., Jr.

Vine, Richard D.  
 Vogelgesang, Sandy  
 Vojta, George J.  
 Volcker, Paul A.  
 Von Klemperer, Alfred H.  
 von Mehren, Robert B.

## W

Wadsworth-Darby, Mary  
 Wahl, Nicholas  
 Walinsky, Adam  
 Walker, Charles E.  
 Walker, G. R.  
 Walker, Joseph, Jr.  
 Walker, William N.  
 Wall, Christopher R.  
 Wallace, Martha R.  
 Wallich, Christine  
 Wallich, Henry C.  
 Wallison, Peter J.  
 Walt, Stephen M.  
 Walters, Barbara  
 Waltz, Kenneth N.  
 Warburg, Gerald F., II  
 Ward, F. Champion  
 Warner, Edward L., III  
 Warner, Rawleigh, Jr.  
 Warnke, Paul C.  
 Washburn, Abbott M.  
 Wasserstein, Bruce  
 Waterbury, John  
 Waters, James F., Jr.  
 Watson, Craig M.  
 Watson, Thomas J., Jr.  
 Wattenberg, Ben J.  
 Watts, Glenn E.  
 Watts, John H.  
 Watts, William  
 Way, Alva O.  
 Weaver, George L-P  
 Webster, Bethuel M.  
 Wedgewood, Ruth N.  
 Glushien  
 Wehrle, Leroy S.  
 Weicker, Lowell P., Jr.  
 Weidenbaum, Murray L.  
 Weiksner, George B., Jr.  
 Weil, Frank A.  
 Weinberg, John L.  
 Weinberg, Steven  
 Weinberger, Caspar W.

Weiner, Myron  
Weiss, Edith Brown  
Weiss, S. Ariel  
Weiss, Seymour  
Welch, Jasper A., Jr.  
Welch, John F., Jr.  
Weller, Ralph A.  
Wells, Damon, Jr.  
Wells, Herman B.  
Wells, Louis T., Jr.  
Wells, Samuel F., Jr.  
Wender, Ira T.  
Wertheim, Mitzi M.  
Wesely, Edwin J.  
Wessell, Nils Y.  
West, Robert LeRoy  
Westphal, Albert C. F.  
Wexler, Anne  
Whalen, Charles W., Jr.  
Whalen, Richard J.  
Wharton, Clifton R., Jr.  
Wheat, Francis M.  
Wheeler, John K.  
Wheeler, John P., III  
Wheeler, Richard W.  
Whipple, Taggart  
Whitaker, C. S., Jr.  
Whitaker, Jennifer  
Seymour  
Whitaker, Mark  
White, Frank X.  
White, John P.  
White, Peter C.  
White, Robert J.  
White, Robert M.  
White, Theodore H.  
Whitehead, John C.  
Whitehouse, Charles S.  
Whiting, Allen S.  
Whitman, Marina v. N.  
Whitney, Craig R.  
Whittemore, Frederick B.  
Wickham, John A., Jr.  
Wieseltier, Leon  
Wiesner, Jerome B.  
Wilbur, Brayton, Jr.  
Wilcox, Francis O.  
Wildavsky, Aaron  
Wilds, Walter W.  
Wiley, Richard A.  
Wiley, W. Bradford  
Wilhelm, Harry E.

Wilkins, Roger W.  
Wilkinson, Dag  
Will, George F.  
Willey, Fay  
Williams, Franklin Hall  
Williams, Harold M.  
Williams, Haydn  
Williams, James B.  
Williams, Joseph H.  
Williams, Maurice J.  
Williamson, Thomas S., Jr.  
Willrich, Mason  
Wilson, Donald M.  
Wilson, Ernest James, III  
Wilson, James O.  
Wilson, John D.  
Wimpfheimer, Jacques D.  
Winder, R. Bayly  
Windmuller, Thomas S.  
Wing, Adrien Katherine  
Winks, Robin W.  
Winslow, Richard S.  
Winterer, Philip S.  
Winters, Francis X.  
Wisner, Frank G., II  
Witten, Edward  
Witunski, Michael  
Wofford, Harris L.  
Wohlstetter, Albert  
Wohlstetter, Roberta  
Wolf, Charles, Jr.  
Wolf, Milton A.  
Wolfensohn, James D.  
Wolff, Alan Wm.  
Wolfowitz, Paul D.  
Wood, Richard D.  
Woodside, William S.  
Woolf, Harry  
Woolsey, R. James  
Wriggins, W. Howard  
Wright, Jerauld  
Wriston, Walter B.  
Wyle, Frederick S.  
Wyman, Thomas H.

## Y

Yang, Chen Ning  
Yankelovich, Daniel  
Yarmolinsky, Adam  
Yeo, Edwin H., III  
Yergin, Daniel H.

Yntema, Theodore O.  
Yoffie, David B.  
Young, Alice  
Young, Andrew  
Young, Edgar B.  
Young, Lewis H.  
Young, Michael K.  
Young, Nancy  
Young, Richard  
Young, Stephen B.  
Youngman, William S.  
Yu, Frederick T. C.  
Yudkin, Richard A.

## Z

Zagoria, Donald S.  
Zakheim, Dov S.  
Zarb, Frank G.  
Zartman, I. William  
Zeidenstein, George  
Zelnick, C. Robert  
Zilkha, Ezra K.  
Zimmerman, Edwin M.  
Zimmerman, William  
Zimmermann, Warren  
Zinberg, Dorothy S.  
Zorthian, Barry  
Zraket, Charles A.  
Zumwalt, E. R., Jr.  
Zysman, John



*En route: the Lords, the Baos, the Rockefellers; staff farewell gathering, Pocantico Hills, June 28, 1985*



*Cover photographs:* Doorway and door knocker of the Harold Pratt House. This residence in the English Renaissance style was designed by Wm. Adams Delano and built in 1919. Harriet Barnes Pratt gave the house to the Council on Foreign Relations in 1945, in memory of her husband, Harold Irving Pratt, a Council member from 1923 to 1939.

*Photo credits:*

*Alan Berliner*, pp. 27tl, 27tr; *Van Bucher*, pp. 8, 16, 29, 31l, 32t, 38b, 41b, 45tl, 45tr, 48l, 48r, 49br, 53bl, 53br, 60, 63, 65, 67b, 68, 78, 109, 114l, 114r; *Greg Cranna*, p. 42tr; *Chab Dunn*, p. 86; *Jim Kallett*, pp. 24, 30, 71, 73, 122, 131; *Mike Leverage*, p. 28b; *Ken Levinson*, pp. 15, 31r, 32b, 47b, 49t, 53tl, 53tr, 74, 97, 104, 108, 120t, 120b; *Gordon Miller*, pp. 85, 87, 89, 113; *Robert F. Rodriguez*, pp. 34tl, 37t, 37b, 38tr, 42tl, 42bl, 42br, 45b, 49bl, 51; *Bill Seaman*, p. 28t; *Robert W. D. Snyder*, pp. 9, 171; *Pim Van Hemmen*, pp. 34tr, 34b, 41t, 47t; *John Vano*, p. 27b; *Perry Alan Werner*, p. 38tl; *M Magazine*, p. 12.

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